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Novaya Zemlya Nuclear Test 'Rumors' Denied

PM0509150690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Feature incorporating reports by correspondent V. Shmyganovskiy and V. Litovkin: "Nuclear Test Range in the Arctic: What Lies Behind Norwegian Environmentalists' Protests"]

[Text] [Shmyganovskiy] There are persistent rumors circulating in Oslo that the Soviet Union has resumed underground nuclear tests at the Novaya Zemlya test range. The "exact" date of this act—4 September—and the yield of the explosive device—85 kilotonnes—are given.

Since the official Soviet authorities are neither confirming nor denying these reports, the environmental organizations Bellona and Greenpeace have joined the Norwegian Government's protests. They have stated that they are ready to set out aboard their ships to the test area, to take samples of air and water, and even perhaps to disembark at the test range. One of Bellona's ships, the "Genius," is at full readiness at Kirkenes, in the north of Norway.

Frude Kholand, a representative of the organization, claims that the question of switching the tests from Semipalatinsk to the Arctic region has been decided and that this is a "provocative act."

Kore Tanvik, member of the movement Stop the Lethal Clouds From the USSR, stressed, speaking about the new expedition, that the years-long struggle to stop harmful discharges from the enterprises of the Kola Peninsula seems to have been won and an accord has been reached with Soviet, Norwegian, and Finnish organizations to neutralize them in the next few years.

"We have now found a new target—the island of Novaya Zemlya," K. Tanvin told the newspaper VERDENS GANG. Tanvik and another participant in the voyage, Fredrik Gauge, claim that, geologically speaking, the rock on Novaya Zemlya is very porous and that discharges could percolate through cracks in the earth, endangering every living thing in the Barents Sea. This, they say, will be the genesis of a new "ecological bomb" in the Arctic.

Let us not take umbrage at the actions of the Norwegian Greens: The country's northern provinces are quite close to the Novaya Zemlya region. In Norway there is even talk of the possibility of completely severing relations with our country if tests resume. Many organizations, including Norwegian trade unions, are warning about this. Nevertheless ties with Norway have, despite the unresolved problems between our countries, developed harmoniously on the basis of mutual trust since 1985.

Participants in the campaign under the slogan "We declare war on nuclear tests" claim that the USSR has not really suspended its tests on Novaya Zemlya. Thus, F. Gauge thinks that seven underground explosions were held there in the eighties, the last taking place on 4 December 1988.

The prospect of nuclear tests on Novaya Zemlya worries the public not just of Norway but of other Nordic countries too. People here hope that clear answers will be given for these questions.

[Litovkin] Our correspondent asked the USSR Defense Ministry to comment on the articles in the Norwegian press. He was told that the reports of the resumption of tests at the Novaya Zemlya test range on 4 September and the yield of the explosive device and and other data are not in accord with reality.

The right to decide to carry out such tests belongs solely to the USSR Council of Ministers and is defined by a Council of Ministers resolution. As of now there is no such resolution. And naturally no date for the resumption of tests has been set.

Nor is there a decision to switch the tests of nuclear devices from the Semipalatinsk test range to Novaya Zemlya. The question of switching the tests is illogical [nepravomernyy]. There are two nuclear test ranges in the country. And if one of them is closed, the second will remain. And the complete cessation of nuclear tests, which the Soviet Union has frequently raised, can be carried out not unilaterally but on the basis of a bilateral agreement with the United States after the conclusion of the relevant treaty.

The last underground nuclear explosion at the Novaya Zemlya test range did indeed take place on 4 December 1988. But no impact on the environment whatsoever was recorded. Moreover, comprehensive radiation-environmental inspection of the territory of the test range and adjoining oblasts carried out recently by experts of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology, the USSR Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry, and the USSR Defense Ministry showed that the radiation situation there is typical of the whole territory of the country.

The testers of nuclear devices have a very strict regard for the observance of environmental cleanness. After the promulgation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On Urgent Measures for the Environmental Improvement of the Country," in line with the instruction contained within it, the USSR Defense Ministry and Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry prepared a draft resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures Relating to the Conduct of Underground Nuclear Tests."

This document is to regulate the procedure for holding tests at the test ranges in the region of Semipalatinsk and Novaya Zemlya. The proposed measures were discussed in the spring of 1990 at a joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committees on Questions of Defense and State Security and Questions of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources.

A resolution on these questions is to be adopted at the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Asian-Pacific Conference Held in Vladivostok

TASS Previews Session

LD0309205590 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Alla Prozorova]

[Text] Vladivostok September 3 TASS—The second conference "The Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation" opens in Vladivostok tomorrow, two years after the city welcomed the first such conference.

More than 300 representatives of 24 countries of the Asian-Pacific region and some inter-state organisations will meet in the local House of Knowledge to exchange views on pressing issues of interaction on the road towards an all-Asia community.

"I am confident that this new meeting will give a boost to Soviet Vladivostok-Krasnoyarsk initiatives based on new thinking," organizing committee chairman academician Viktor Ilyichev told TASS.

The need for a more active search for possibilities to promote cooperation among the countries of the region was reconfirmed by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's meeting in Irkutsk with U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker and his meetings with the leaders of China and North Korea, Ilyichev noted.

Since the first international gathering in Vladivostok two years ago, favourable changes have occurred in the region, connected with the search for ways to ensure security and cooperation, he said.

Contacts between researchers have become especially frequent. The far eastern branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, for instance, is cooperating with 15 universities in the region, the U.S. Geological Survey and Sea Laboratories, Japanese institutions and the academies of sciences of a number of countries of Southeast Asia and the Vietnamese Research Centre.

Speaking about changes in the Soviet Far East, Ilyichev pointed to a tendency to strengthen local self-government as an important factor of updating the economy. Hopes for changes for the better are connected by local people with the transition to market relations.

The emergence of new forms of ownership—joint-stock and collective—and changes in the structure of trade and economic relations have made investments in Far Eastern enterprises attractive both for foreign firms and for partners in other soviet republics. The idea of free enterprise zones is now being considered for the maritime territories and the Sakhalin island after the city of Nakhodka in the south of the maritime territory was proclaimed the first free enterprise zone in the region.

These are just a few aspects of cooperation which will be considered at the international meeting. "We are ready to hear criticism and advice from our guests to avoid errors in future," Ilyichev stressed.

Cambodian Elections Discussed

LD0509124390 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Vladivostok September 5 TASS—A political solution to the Cambodian conflict will culminate in "free and democratic elections under international control and guarantees for Cambodia's permanent neutrality", Cambodian Deputy Foreign Minister Long Visalo [as received] told participants in the International Conference on the Asia-Pacific Region.

The first technical section of the conference discussed the military and political situation in the region. Addressing this section on Wednesday, the deputy foreign minister said it will be possible to hold general elections only after international military aid to both conflicting sides is suspended.

Any political settlement of the Cambodian conflict should be based on the following three principles—respect for the right of the Cambodian people to self-determination, respect for the Cambodian state's sovereignty and guarantees against the return of any form of genocide.

The deputy minister hailed the new U.S. policy with respect to Cambodia and the results of meetings between the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

Signing of German Unification Treaty Reported

PM0409134190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 90 Second Edition p 7

[Report by correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov: "House with Uncompleted Work"]

[Text] Berlin—The signing of the treaty on unity—the document which puts a legal foundation beneath the GDR's entry into the FRG—took place in Berlin's Unter den Linden palace, guarded by dense police cordons. The process of its ratification in both German states lies ahead.

It begins operation 3 October, the day when the GDR becomes part of the Federal Republic.

It may be said quite specifically that the first state treaty between the GDR and the FRG whereby the two countries concluded a currency and economic union was dictated in Bonn. But you cannot say that of the second treaty, now signed in Berlin. The talks between the delegations were complex and tense. Nor is that surprising.

The talks uncovered many vexed points the search for a compromise on which lasted almost until the moment of the signing. In particular such a question was that of where—in the West or the East—the archives of the former GDR Ministry of State Security, containing files on 6 million people, should be stored.

The treaty's authors did not have enough time—the whole world was told in advance exactly when the two sides were to sign it. After that work proceeded to the anxious ticking of clocks, as it were. No one wanted to be in time-trouble. A culprit risked attracting reproaches to the effect that he was delaying the unification process. Commenting on this fact, the newspaper JUNGE WELT compared the signing of the prepared text with the commissioning for a specified date of a house with uncompleted work.

The unification treaty which has been elaborated is a very voluminous document. Together with the supplements it has nearly 1,000 pages. It is not easy to understand its content.

During the talks the GDR delegation was in a difficult position. It constantly had to look at the calendar to see how much time remained until the appointed day of unification. Everything which it had not managed to achieve now in defending the interests of the East German population would be examined later by an all-German parliament where representatives of the present FRG would deliberately predominate. One must give the delegation from Berlin its due: A number of proposals enshrining some of the social achievements in the GDR have been introduced to the text of the treaty.

Since the unification process was set in motion the question has arisen of what to do about property relations in East Germany. Particularly with those which have arisen as a result of the agrarian reform when hundreds of thousands of peasants received land after the war. The treaty provides for the results of the agrarian reform being inviolate.

Matters are more complicated with regard to the property of those who left it in the East and moved to the West. But here too a compromise has been found based on the formula: priority for compensation, not return.

The signing of the treaty on the GDR's entry into the FRG is an important step on the path toward creating a single Germany. It is of great international importance. The contours of an all-German state with great economic might and substantial political potential are emerging increasingly clearly in central Europe. The prompt and full settlement of the foreign policy aspects of German unification is extraordinarily important.

Gorbachev Sends Message to UNESCO Meeting

LD0309172690 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev sent greetings to the UNESCO international conference on education - a major event during the international year of literacy. The conference opened in Geneva today.

"It is hard to overestimate your activity in preparing mankind for life in the new epoch," he said. "Literacy is the foundation of culture and science. Civilisation's further progress is impossible without literacy's comprehensive nature and new quality. It is an indispensable condition for the moral development of man, irrespective of nationality, for the mastering of his role in the integral, interdependent world."

Gorbachev expressed hope that the conference will take its place among other efforts to assert democracy and humanism in international affairs.

UN Human Rights Seminar To Be Held in Kiev

LD0309150590 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—A U.N. European seminar on international standards in human rights will be held in Kiev, the Soviet Ukraine, between September 24-28, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

"The Soviet Union attaches much importance to international cooperation in human rights," he said. "We praise the U.N. role in this process and international legal documents drafted by the United Nations.

"We regard scientific and educational activities in this sphere in the context of democratic changes in the USSR and a desire to establish a law-governed state in our country."

The seminar is sponsored by the Soviet U.N. Association, the U.N. Centre on Human Rights and other organisations and co-sponsored by the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

It will be the third human rights forum to be attended by most European countries, the United States, Canada and prominent experts in this field, Gerasimov noted.

Kozyrev Discusses UN Aid to Chernobyl

90UF0496A Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with A.V. Kozyrev, director of the International Organizations Administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by TRUD correspondent S. Pankratov; place and date not given: "The World Community—To the Aid of Chernobyl"—first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] The nuclear catastrophe at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant in April 1986 cast a sinister radioactive shadow, as later became clear, over vast expanses of Soviet territory and, indirectly, beyond its confines. This tragedy starkly laid bare the vulnerability of our world's civilization, its defenselessness in the face of technological incidents, and illustrated the absolute urgency of

resolving problems of protecting the environment—of universal human significance—and of averting global nuclear cataclysm.

Recently at a regular session of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) in Geneva, the resolution "Cooperation in Alleviating and Overcoming the Aftereffects of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant" was adopted. This is the topic of discussion between our correspondent and A.V. Kozyrev, director of the International Organizations Administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[Pankratov] Andrey Vladimirovich, what in your view is the significance of this document in intensifying the efforts of the international community in providing assistance to Chernobyl?

[Kozyrev] I would like to say first of all that the adoption of such a resolution is possible only thanks to the cessation of the "cold war," and to our processes of democratization and glasnost. The change in attitude toward our country has forced the world community to react differently to our problems as well. It is characteristic that 63 countries have become voluntary coauthors of this resolution, of which 47 are ECOSOC member states, including the United States, India, Japan, and China. There has not been such a precedent to date in the history of this organization, a fact which testifies to the attention, support, and solidarity of the international community regarding the initiative advanced. Another innovation was beneficial—at the ECOSOC session on Chernobyl, envoys from Russia worked within the framework of a Union delegation, together with representatives of Belorussia and the Ukraine, which are United Nations members. This is the way a resolution of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Congress of People's Deputies was effected.

[Pankratov] When we talk about assistance, we have concrete financial support in mind for the most part. How will it be in this instance?

[Kozyrev] It would not be entirely accurate to believe that adoption of the above-mentioned document will immediately entail millions coming into the USSR as international aid. What we are talking about primarily is knowledge and skills required today, experience in rendering medical assistance, advanced technology, and opening up specialized laboratories and clinics in our country. The world has accumulated experience in the struggle against the calamities Chernobyl has encountered, especially in Japan. We must take advantage of this experience. Let us consider the question of mass resettlement of people out of contaminated zones. When this question first came under study in the applicable Soviet organizations, everything seemed to be absolutely clear—the main thing was to obtain the material resources. In fact, however, a great deal turned out to be much more complicated—not just large amounts of money were needed, but tremendous knowledge and skills enabling all factors, every nuance to be taken into account. Assistance from HABITAT, the United Nations Center for Human Settlements, proves to be exactly what Soviet specialists need in this regard. It can not only offer the recommendations of specialists with world renown, but provide some of the equipment for new settlements as well.

[Pankratov] Which organizations of the United Nations system could be singled out as being among the pioneers in rendering effective assistance toward alleviating and eliminating the aftereffects of Chernobyl?

[Kozyrev] Of course we must first of all mention the International Atomic Energy Agency. This organization was not just one of the first to answer the request for aid, but it also made a significant contribution to eliminating the Chernobyl accident. Its specialists repeatedly brought their expertise to the localities and made environmental forecasts in contaminated regions. It must be emphasized that all these efforts were carried out by prominent specialists of various countries with the aid of modern technology. The World Health Organization (WHO) was also among those which extended the hand of assistance to Chernobyl. Today we witness the large-scale humanitarian effort—"Children of Chernobyl," initiated by UNESCO and the World Scouting Organization. The list goes on.

Following adoption of the ECOSOC resolution, all remaining organizations of the United Nations system will render assistance within their powers in eliminating the aftereffects of the Chernobyl accident. Thus the International Labor Organization, for example, is readying an assistance program for the population evacuated from contaminated zones. It will be primarily oriented on social-labor aspects, job retraining, and finding employment.

Again I stress that this kind of assistance will enable us to rise swiftly to the level of world standards in resolving problems related to consequences of eliminating the accident at Chernobyl. It is no less important that the ECOSOC resolution directs states to develop individual cooperation with us, with the goal of eliminating the aftereffects of the Chernobyl catastrophe.

[Pankratov] Have you heard any indications that, in spite of the most humanitarian aims of the ECOSOC resolution, its implementation may run into certain obstacles?

[Kozyrev] Alas, we cannot rule out such a situation. The main thing we have to understand is that implementation of the resolution and its effectiveness today depend to a significant degree on our side. The task ahead entails formulation of specific requirements in obtaining assistance from international organizations. To effect a more objective determination of cooperation parameters, it is necessary that international experts visit our country, as is the accepted practice in interstate contacts. Is everyone here prepared to provide them objective and exhaustive information on the actual state of affairs? Not yet, I am afraid. On the one hand, it seems everyone

supports the provision of aid by specialized United Nations organizations. On the other hand, views are expressed to the effect that it is undesirable for international experts to visit many contaminated zones.

And do you know what one of the most widely disseminated arguments is? The disorganized state of life of our population residing in rural areas. Well, it goes without saying that living conditions in some of our villages are far from meeting the standards of contemporary civilization. But can it be they do not know about this in the West? Another dozen departmental, regional, and other "reasons" can be given to question the advisability of conducting full-fledged expert examination by specialists of United Nations organizations.

We would like to call upon the most diverse organizations, including social organizations, to approach international cooperation more responsibly and in the spirit of glasnost. It is especially important to determine as accurately as possible what constitutes our requirements, because United Nations experts must accomplish preparatory work prior to mid-September of this year so that the United Nations Secretary General can present developed recommendations to the 45th session of the General Assembly on international efforts concerning Chernobyl.

Third World Arms Transfers 'Inspire Fear'

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by D. Yevstafyev: "Russian Roulette in the Atomic Age. Are We Not Doing Ourselves a Disservice by Giving Military Aid to Developing Countries?"]

[Text] The situation which has taken shape in the Persian Gulf has demonstrated to us that Third World countries are beginning to play an increasingly independent role in world politics. On the one hand this is good, while on the other we must bear in mind that it is by no means Iraq alone that cherishes hegemonist ends.

The new thinking has done what seemed impossible only recently. We have at last stopped looking at the United States through the notch on a rear sight, and our relations have acquired a civilized nature. You might think it is possible to breathe more easily. But no, it is not. As the events of the past two years have shown, the threat to the superpowers stems not only from each other's nuclear arsenals. One of the new and not yet fully understood sources of danger lies in the Third World. What is this threat? Without laying claim to an exhaustive characterization, I will attempt to outline some of its features.

The very fact that arsenals of arms which would be the envy of NATO and the Warsaw Pact have been created in many Third World countries must inspire fear. But this is still not everything. Whereas previously the threat proceeding from developing countries was mitigated by the fact that it could only be a threat to the superpowers' interests and not to the superpowers themselves, now, in connection with the spread of missile technology, European states cannot feel safe. A considerable part of the territory of the southern Soviet Union is within the range of missiles like the Jericho (Israel) and the CSS2 (made in China and now in Saudi Arabia's arsenal).

Another special feature of the situation is that the regional arms race is stimulated by local conflicts in the Third World. At the same time, whereas in Soviet-U.S. relations nuclear and missile weapons were designed chiefly for restraint and deterrence—in short, for indirect use—in the Third World they are patently created for direct use.

How has it happened that weapons capable of threatening not just the interests but also the security of leading states have ended up in the hands of Third World countries?

Until recently people mainly looked on the situation in the Third World through the prism of the Soviet-U.S. confrontation. There were periods when it was deemed possible to pursue a policy of detente between our two countries while a most intransigent encounter was under way on a regional level. There were purely financial reasons for this in addition to political ones, since the Third World was a major market for arms sales. Unfortunately, weapons deliveries were for the USSR the chief means of penetrating developing countries. The search for "allies" throughout the world resulted in the Soviet Union being drawn indirectly (and, in a number of cases, directly too) into many conflict situations. It was to justify that policy that the concept of giving aid to "national liberation movements" and "anti-imperialist states" was invented. The splendid stucco moldings of ideological exclamations concealed a traditional globalist approach which was not commensurate with the financial, economic, and political possibilities. The partners became accustomed to the fact that they frequently did not have to pay for aid from Moscow, which contributed still further to the drop in our prestige. In fact, cooperation with many Third World countries has in recent years led to results directly opposite to those intended.

How is the situation in the Third World characterized now from the military-political viewpoint?

One of the most dangerous phenomena is the spread of chemical, missile, and potentially also nuclear weapons. For a long time it was thought that the developing countries' scientific and industrial potential would not enable them to create arsenals of this kind themselves. But that proved a mistake.

As for nuclear weapons, the first alarm bell rang the moment India tested a nuclear charge, which was subsequently called "peaceful." Naturally, the emergence of such a weapon in India could not go unnoticed, and Pakistan announced that the creation of deterrent weapons was a priority in its national security policy.

Israel has probably become another Third World nuclear power—which it neither confirms nor denies.

But this is not all. If we speak of countries which international experts suspect of violating the nuclear nonproliferation regime, the list is quite long. There is Libya, Iraq, Iran, the DPRK, Taiwan, Argentina, and Brazil. How did these states acquire the raw materials and technology? Here we can say that developed countries—probably because they did not take seriously the possibility of the "nuclear club's" expansion—did not fulfill too carefully the terms of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Still fresh in our memory are scenes on the "Vremya" program showing our country's successes in cooperation with "traditional" partners in harnessing the "peaceful atom." And the USSR was not alone in its delusions concerning the intentions of Third World countries. Individual components of nuclear technology were handed over by France, the FRG, Britain, and the United States.

Chemical weapons too are not a rarity in developing countries. The simplicity of production enables even the most backward states to acquire arsenals of these "nuclear weapons for the poor," as they are called. Here too technology has been handed over. It was evidently thought that developing countries are incapable of producing sophisticated chemical weapons. Yes, this is so. But they do not need them. Hydrocyanic acid, mustard gas, and other substances that have come down from the times of World War I would be perfectly adequate. However, there is a tendency to create new models of chemical weapons. Iraq, for example, has announced that it has binary ammunition.

According to the most modest estimates, the arsenals of more than 10 countries contain chemical weapons. Let us name as examples Libya, Iraq, Iran, Israel, Egypt, and Vietnam. While fighting each other Iraq and Iran actually employed chemical charges. Only the targets of gas attacks were not military subunits but the civilian population. Some sources maintain that Libya also used such weapons in the war against Habre's forces in Chad.

In the Third World at present India, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Israel, Vietnam, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Algeria, both Koreas, Taiwan, and Saudi Arabia undoubtedly possess missiles. At the same time the arsenals of Iraq, India, Pakistan, and Egypt contain systems that may be classified as missiles with an operational-tactical range; and Israel, India, and Saudi Arabia possess intermediate-range systems.

Many countries have begun the flow-line production of their own missile technology. This means not only the strengthening of the potentials of the arms manufacturers themselves but also an increase in the sources from which it is possible, given the desire, to obtain such weapons.

Exports and reexports of weapons within a region are also becoming increasingly significant. Not just independently produced weapons but also those obtained from outside.

And here a considerable share of the responsibility lies with the developed countries. I am not inclined to pin the blame entirely on the Soviet Union alone, for in the past the United States got itself into a difficult situation when Iran was transformed from an ally into an enemy and the weapons supplied to it ceased to be a means of defending U.S. interests and began posing a threat to them. In the past we had an equally instructive experience in Egypt. From all this conclusions should have been drawn with regard to the fact that in the entire spectrum of interstate contacts ties along military lines are, as a rule, the most flimsy.

What is to be done? I am afraid that at present neither we, nor the Americans, nor other countries are ready to answer this question. The nature and character of the threat posed by the situation in Third World countries is so multifaceted that it will take a long time for effective neutralizing mechanisms to be created. But we must draw some conclusions right now.

First, the military must reconsider its whole approach to this problem. The trouble is that our defense policy was mainly geared to the hypothetical threat from the West, which could be realized only under very specific conditions. The threat from the East and the South is not hypothetical but very, very real. The events in the Persian Gulf have demonstrated that escalation can happen almost instantaneously. What is needed to counter it is an army capable of operating in any region. Incidentally, the Americans had already prepared to combat a threat to their national security from the south. The concept of "low-intensity conflicts" was officially made public back in 1986. Nicknamed "interventionist"—for which there were certain grounds—it is at least some means of containing regional threats, albeit by manifestly dubious methods.

Historian Claims Soviet Decline Inevitable

AU0509130990 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 5 Sep 90 p 5

[Report: "Afanasyev: Decay of USSR Cannot Be Stopped"]

[Text] Vienna—At a 2-day symposium on "The Democratic Revolutions in Central and East Europe" organized by the Renner Institute, Soviet historian Yuriy Afanasyev painted the gloomiest picture.

The Soviet Union is undergoing an unstoppable decay. Afanasyev mentioned three reasons why, in his opinion, Gorbachev's perestroyka has failed: The state structure of the Soviet Union, which he called an artificial monster that continued the Russian empire; the subordination of the people to a gigantic military machinery; and the lack of a bourgeois society.

Afanasyev blamed Gorbachev personally for having failed to initiate essential reforms of the system. Gorbachev always lagged behind the developments. He rejected the concept of private property far too long; the proposal to negotiate a new Union treaty comes at a time when the Baltic republics are no longer prepared for a form of confederation or federation, Afanasyev said.

According to Afanasyev, the Soviet Union is heading for absolute zero: not only the breakdown of food and medical supplies, but also of all normal life, all values and guidelines. According to Afanasyev, the escalation of the nationality conflict in the Soviet Union might result in a global catastrophe.

Representatives of other East and central European states expressed far more hope, although they were fully aware of the enormous democratic, social, and national challenges. The prerequisites for a pluralist democracy have been created in almost all countries. However, the mentality of submissiveness which was promoted by the old regimes, demotivation, and depoliticization still prevail. There is a lack of personal initiative and the readiness to accept responsibility. The confidence in rule-of-law institutions also has to be built first, it was stated.

Increasing unemployment and the reduction of social security are unavoidable as part of the stony road to the future. However, this future can only lie in a multiethnic and multicultural pluralist democracy and the market economy, it was stated.

United States & Canada

Bush-Gorbachev Summit Termed Gulf's 'Main Hope'

PM0609075690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

["Roundup prepared by D. Velikiy (in Cairo) and B. Ivanov (in Moscow)": "Persian Gulf: Pinning Hopes on the Helsinki Meeting"]

[Excerpt] Following the apparent failure of UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar's talks with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz the international community is increasingly inclining toward the view that the upcoming Soviet-American summit remains the main hope in the quest for a diplomatic solution of the crisis.

The British paper TODAY calls M.S. Gorbachev's talks with G. Bush, planned for 9 September, the "last hope of achieving peace." According to the U.S. television company CBS, the Helsinki meeting arouses positive emotions since it signifies that "there will be no war for at least another week."

Meanwhile, the United States has started joint maneuvers with the Qatar Armed Forces, during which, in particular, interaction between the two countries' Air Forces will be rehearsed. The Pentagon is also carefully analyzing various options for the use of U.S. forces if hostilities begin. According to the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Security Council, U.S. losses in a major war with Iraq, in view of the possibility of Baghdad's using chemical weapons, could be between 20,000 and 30,000 men. This was reported by the weekly U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT. According to it, it was these figures that made U.S. President Bush opt for the quest for a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

Nevertheless, citing senior administration representatives, the magazine does not rule out the possibility that unless diplomatic efforts yield results within a month, Bush may review his decision to renounce the use of military force. For the time being the White House incumbent has given the green light to any actions directed against the Iraqi president. NEWSWEEK magazine said that the U.S. President has signed a directive in the national security sphere, approving the elaboration and implementation of secret operations aimed at overthrowing the Iraqi leader. The magazine's editorial office has also obtained sensational information to the effect that Saudi Arabia intends to finance secret actions by the CIA and other Western intelligence services in Iraq. The plan is to channel the funds for these purposes to the U.S. special services through the Saudi ambassador in Washington Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan. And even if Iraqi forces are withdrawn from Kuwait the secret operations will not cease. Official administration spokesmen told a correspondent for the U.S. television company ABC about this, stressing that in any case the removal of the Iraqi president "will remain the ultimate task" of these steps. According to an informed source in the administration, the United States cannot allow S. Husayn "ever to come back again to wage war."

These pronouncements are being made against the background of reports of growing dissatisfaction in Iraq, which was forced the other day to ration basic foodstuffs. Desertion has increased in the Iraqi Army. Hundreds of Iraqi soldiers have now fled to Turkey, according to Turkish diplomats in the United States. According to their accounts, morael is rapidly declining in the forces, which are suffering from bad supplies. [passage omitted]

Gerasimov Predicts No Summit 'Ultimatum' on Iraq

LD0609133990 Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Speaking at a news conference in Moscow, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Gennadiy Gerasimov, expressed serious doubt whether a joint ultimatum to Iraq would be issued at the USSR-USA Helsinki summit. As he stated, this would be a working meeting, an exchange of points of view and opinions between the two leaders on a wide range of subjects, the situation in the Gulf, the economic situation in the Soviet Union, on European issues, and regional conflicts in Afghanistan and Cambodia.

Mr. Gerasimov said a joint ultimatum would look like a plot between the two superpowers, whereas there is an urgent need to act jointly within a broad international community. Of course, the Soviet Union and the United States have prime responsibility for the world stability, and a lot depends on them and upon what kind of agreements they reach. But at present there is growing understanding that only clear, solid, joint action by all states in the world can contribute to a peaceful, political solution of the Iraqi conflict, said Gennadiy Gerasimov.

U.S. Senate Delegation Concludes Moscow Visit

Addressed by Gorbachev 5 Sep

LD0509202490 Moscow TASS in English 1951 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—"Old structures are being eliminated, as are old ideas and concepts. A new state and society as well as a new understanding of emerging realities are being born with difficulty," Mikhail Gorbachev said at a meeting with American senators here today.

He described the situation in the country at their request. The president said that everything will be clear in the next few weeks.

The present situation prompts resolute and urgent measures in all directions. On the other hand, it contains a powerful potential for sweeping changes.

Gorbachev called the attention of the senators led by Robert Dole to various judgements in the United States

concerning an attitude to the USSR. "What we are doing here is necessary not only for us but also for America."

The United States, as well as the entire world, needs a dynamic Soviet Union, strong and integral. It will be more difficult for all, including the U.S., without a new Soviet Union.

Soviet-American cooperation has become a powerful stabilising factor in international relations. The European process has proved this. This is also corroborated by Soviet-American cooperation in the Gulf crisis.

Gorbachev and the senators exchanged opinions on the Soviet Union's transition to a market economy and, consequently, on changes in its foreign economic relations with developed and developing nations.

The sides also discussed the talks on conventional weapons in Europe and on strategic offensive weapons.

Gorbachev said that, although some provisions of future treaties have not been agreed due to changes in the Warsaw Treaty and German unification, there are all grounds to hope that they will be concluded this year.

On the eve of the Helsinki meeting between the Soviet and American Presidents, the sides discussed the situation in the Gulf, the position of foreigners detained in Iraq, the problem of Soviet specialists there and prospects for future relations with the country, depending on the results and methods of settling the crisis.

The sides agreed that utmost efforts are needed to implement peacefully U.N. Security Council resolutions on the Gulf crisis.

Holds News Conference, Departs

LD0509164290 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Voitsekhovich]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Members of a U.S. Senate delegation today praised the results of their four-day visit to the USSR, which included meetings with Soviet leaders. They visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet parliament.

Addressing a news conference at a Moscow airport before their departure from the USSR, Senate minority leader Robert Dole, head of the delegation, told reporters about their meeting with President Mikhail Gorbachev today.

He noted that the sides centred on the situation in the Gulf and arms control problems.

The U.S. Senators raised the question of Soviet military specialists in Iraq. According to Dole, Gorbachev stressed that the specialists are not military advisers and do not participate in operations by the Iraqi Army.

They work in Iraq under contracts to service various kinds of military hardware, Gorbachev told the Senators that the Soviet side would like to recall those specialists but, if this move is taken before contracts expire, the position of the several thousand Soviet citizens who remain in Iraq may be jeopardised.

Dole said that Gorbachev told them of the Soviet determination to work to achieve an agreement with the United States on cuts in strategic offensive weapons and an agreement to reduce troops and conventional weapons in Europe this year.

Speaking of the forthcoming Gorbachev-Bush meeting in Helsinki, the senator stressed that he is waiting for it "with optimism."

He noted that economic cooperation featured prominently at meetings in Moscow and Leningrad.

White House Spokesman Discusses Aid to USSR

LD0609113990 Moscow TASS in English 1131 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin]

[Text] Washington September 6 TASS—New relations between the Soviet Union and the United States in addressing international conflicts, including the Gulf crisis, may change the U.S. position on economic aid to the Soviet Union, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater told a briefing on Wednesday.

"I think it is fair to say that Soviet cooperation in the Gulf has impressed us to the point that we are even more interested in being economically supportive if we can be," he said.

He added, however, that the final position of the U.S. Administration would depend on findings of a study of the Soviet economy, being prepared by the International Monetary Fund.

China

Border Disputes With China 'Disappearing'

OW0509215490 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Commentary by Nikolayev]

[Text] Dear listeners, border disputes between China and its neighbors, which once seriously affected the situation in Asia, are gradually disappearing. Nikolayev, a commentator of this station, believes that this fact has been proved by the results of a meeting held in New Delhi recently by the Indian-Chinese joint working group on border. Nikolayev has the following comments on the event:

According to reports, the major achievement of the talks is that the two sides reached an agreement on setting up

a special body comprising military command representatives to ensure peace and stability on the two countries' common border. As for the border problem, it seems that great efforts are still needed by the two countries to work out a solution acceptable to both sides. However, what is important is that neither Beijing nor New Delhi regard the border issue as an obstacle to the development of overall Indian-Chinese relations. The mutual understanding reached between the two sides in this regard during former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Beijing in December 1988 still exists. The following fact proves this point: the two sides have reached agreement on Chinese Premier Li Peng's visit to India some time this year and Indian External Affairs Minister Gujral's visit to China this October.

The calm dialogue between the two largest Asian countries on their disputes undoubtedly will help improve the political climate on the Asian continent. We also have every reason to believe that the same is true with regard to Sino-Soviet relations. During his visit to Harbin on 1 September, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said that another round of Soviet-Chinese talks will be held in Moscow in several days to discuss such important issues as the reduction of arms and military strength on the Soviet-Chinese border and as strengthening the two sides' trust in the military field.

It also is appropriate for me to point out another fact: China and Laos signed an agreement at the end of August on marking the common boundary line. According to the agreement, measures will be implemented to turn the Sino-Lao border into a zone of peace and cooperation. Chinese Government leader Li Peng said recently that China is willing to discuss questions with Vietnam in the near future concerning the normalization of relations, including questions on territorial disputes. This has given people great expectations. As a glimmer of hope also has appeared with regard to a settlement of the Cambodian issue, the prospects have become even better.

In short, the current trend is that many Asian countries are taking actions that show their adherence to the principle of good-neighborliness.

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze's Visit to Japan Continues

Meets Counterpart 5 Sep

LD0509204390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Sep

[Text] The first day of the meeting of the USSR and Japanese foreign ministers in Tokyo has ended. Eduard Ambrosiyevich Shevardnadze and his Japanese counterpart Taro Nakayama exchanged opinions on an extremely wide range of issues. Konstantin Kupin and Viktor Levin, our special correspondents in Tokyo, report:

[Kupin] The discussion of the military and political situation in the Asian-Pacific region has become a new point in today's conversation, and up until recently the Japanese side would not have agreed to this. It must be said that the work which is being carried out at the present negotiations is quite intense. And the sides, despite a tight time table of meetings and conversations, are actually working ahead of schedule. The discussion of the military and political aspects of the bilateral relations has already started today.

By the way, this point is also new. Of course, at the negotiations they could not get by without mentioning an issue of so-called northern territories which has been raised by the Japanese side. Here is what USSR deputy foreign minister Rogachev said about the past day of negotiations in his conversation with journalists.

[Begin Rogachev recording] They are asking us to return to the Japanese sovereignty four islands and the southern part of the Kuril Islands. They hope that some kind of decision will be arrived at during the visit of the USSR President to Japan.

We stated our position at the working group meeting and we adhere to this position. We think that the Soviet Union is the undoubtable owner of those islands and this is defined by the system of international agreements which were concluded in the end of the war and after the war. We are not going to infringe upon this system. We will continue the discussion of this issue because it enters as an integral part of the complex of issues which make up the essence of a peaceful treaty. [end recording]

Discusses Asian-Pacific Region

LD0509191990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kruchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo, 5 Sep (TASS)—During the second round of talks which took place today in the Reception House of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, the Soviet and Japanese foreign ministers favored extending to the Asian-Pacific region the positive processes which are taking place at present in Europe.

During the exchange of opinions Eduard Shevardnadze gave a broad review of the military-political situation in the Asian-Pacific region and put forward specific proposals which could become the basis of bilateral cooperation in maintaining peace and ensuring security in that part of the world. In the opinion of the Soviet side, the achievement of accords between the USSR and Japan on acquainting each other with the military doctrines of the two countries, mutual notification about major exercises, giving information in good time about the closing of certain maritime areas for the period of conducting practice firing, and inviting observers to exercises and maneuvers would be fully in accord with this. Moreover, one could think about establishing direct contacts and

exchanges between the USSR Defense Ministry and the Japanese National Defense Agency, about having exchanges of visits by military delegations, ships, and air units, and about drawing up and concluding a Soviet-Japanese agreement on preventing incidents at sea. The Soviet minister also came out for the extension, on a mutual basis, of access by the military attaches of both countries to visit military training establishments, military units, and other military facilities.

Taro Nakayama in turn noted the growing role played by the Asian-Pacific region in today's world and its global trade and economic ties. In the view of the Japanese minister, broad economic cooperation between the states located there would also do much to maintain stability in the area.

The sides then got down to examining issues of bilateral relations and began discussing the peace treaty. In conversation with TASS corresondents, Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev said that on Thursday the dates would be set for the next, sixth session of the bilateral Japanese-Soviet working group on the peace treaty. It was decided to move on from conceptual discussions to an exchange of draft documents at that meeting.

Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama described next year's visit by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to the Japanese islands as a "historic event" in the lives of the Soviet and Japanese peoples.

He delivered a speech today at a dinner in honour of USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is here on an official visit.

The head of Japan's foreign policy department advocated the construction of stable Japanese-Soviet relations, the conduct of a frank dialogue, and the strengthening of genuine trust between the two countries. It is the heartfelt hope of the Japanese people, he continued, that with Gorbachev's visit bilateral relations will develop in a new and dynamic way.

The minister remarked that it is necessary "to place Japanese-Soviet relations on a truly stable basis by resolving the territorial issue and subsequently concluding a peace treaty".

Taro Nakayama gave a high appraisal of the fundamental transformations taking pace in the Soviet Union and the construction of a humane and democratic society. The reforms being carried out today in the USSR, which can justly be described as "revolutionary", the Japanese minister stressed, have made a major contribution to the fundamental change in global processes from confrontation to cooperation. On behalf of the Japanese people he stated his support and understanding for the policy of perestroyka and the new thinking in the Soviet Union.

The Russian word "perestroyka" has firmly entered the international lexicon. It is frequently associated with the process of favorable changes on the international arena, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said in his reply speech. At present the epicenter of these events is the Euro-Atlantic zone. I am confident that the wave of renewals which has arisen here will also reach the extensive Asian-Pacific region, in which the USSR and Japan are neighbors.

It cannot be said that this region is in a state of stagnation, he continued. Positive changes are quite in evidence: the political atmosphere is improving, the process of unblocking old conflicts is under way, and regional cooperation is being set in motion. However, there remain no few grounds for concern, though. Military confrontation is being maintained at too high a level and the accumulation of suspicion and at times even hostility is too great.

In our view, the Soviet minister noted, the requirement has now come to a head for starting up a serious Asian-Pacific discussion of problems of security and cooperation. Distrust and fear must not be allowed to cloud relations between countries and peoples. We are open to broad cooperation in this direction with Japan, on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis. The USSR and the United States no longer regard each other as opponents. We see no reason preventing the leaders of the USSR and Japan from making similar statements.

We would like genuine good-neighborly relations with Japan, underpinned by mutually advantageous cooperation on a large scale across the very widest range of issues. The meeting between the leaders of our two countries could and should be a turning point in this respect.

The approaching visit to Japan by USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, the first such visit in the history of Soviet-Japanese relations, is intended to transfer them to a qualitatively new state and provide a powerful stimulus in developing bilateral ties for many years to come. Given the role played by the USSR and Japan on the international arena this could be a major event in world politics, in the affairs of the Asian-Pacific region.

The threads of rapprochement pass through people's hearts, said Eduard Shevardnadze. Both in sorrow and in joy they beat in harmony with one another. A small Soviet boy was very seriously burned and now hundreds of Japanese are helping to save him. This is how a feeling of closeness grows, a feeling not always accessible to politicians. But this is itself the very highest policy—a policy of humanity.

On Thursday the third and final round of talks between the Soviet and Japanese foreign ministers is to be held.

Remarks on Talks

LD0509174190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Remarks by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the USSR Embassy in Tokyo on 5 September by correspondents Konstantin Kupin and Viktor Levin—recorded]

[Text] [Kupin] Shevardnadze and Nakayama conversed for a total of over five hours. International problems were discussed at the first meeting and the situation in the Persian Gulf region was highlighted. The ministers got down to an exchange of opinions on the situation in the Asian-Pacific region at the second meeting.

After the talks USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze met with Odzawa, general secretary of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party of Japan. We were waiting for him with a microphone when he returned to the embassy.

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] I evaluate the situation positively on the whole, insofar as our discussions and our deliberations were very thorough. I am particularly happy that we have begun a very serious dialogue on the problems of the military-strategic situation in the Asian-Pacific region and on problems of security and stability in the Asian-Pacific region. I was able to set out all the main considerations on problems of security and stability. It seems to me that this is one of the main elements from our various conversations. I am happy with this.

I felt that they have an interest in all that is going on in our military construction and our military reform. They also want to be convinced about how sincere we are when we say that we have a defensive doctrine, and so on. They also want to convince us that they have no aggressive plans against the Soviet Union. This is of great significance to us.

Then he began to set out his views with regard to our bilateral problems, on the whole the state of work on a peace treaty, and especially on territorial problems. And so we shall be discussing all the remaining problems of our bilateral relations, especially everything connected with Mikhail Sergeyevich's visit—the outline for his visit and the documents which may be signed, how all this work can be organized here in Tokyo and in Moscow. We have an immense amount of work to do. [end recording]

Continues Talks on 6 Sep

LD0609055990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0057 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS corresondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[text] Tokyo, 6 Sep (TASS)—The third, concluding round of talks here between Eduard Shevardnadze, foreign minister, who is here on an official visit, and Taro Nakayama, head of the Japanese Foreign Ministry have begun this morning at the house of receptions of the Japanese Foreign Ministry.

The parties will continue the discussion begun in the previous round on issues of a peace treaty between the two countries. During an exchange of opinions the ministers will study the whole complex of bilateral relations, and above all specific measures to prepare for the forthcoming visit to Japan of M.S. Gorbachev, USSR president, next year.

Signs Joint Document

LD0609060190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0422 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Tokyo, 6 Sep (TASS)—In Tokyo, the talks between Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, who is here on an official visit, and Taro Nakayama, head of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, have ended with the signature of a joint document today.

After three rounds of meetings, the ministers set their signatures to a memorandum on cooperation between the USSR and Japan to overcome the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station and a memorandum on issues concerning the preparation for the visit of the USSR president to Japan. The parties also confirmed an accord on the dissemination of informative materials of both governments on the other country's territory.

Expresses 'Satisfaction'

LD0609093190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent's Viktor Levin and Konstantin Kubin from Tokyo before "final round" of talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze voiced satisfaction in a conversation with us at the results of the first day of the talks. Very important problems concerning the situation in the Persian Gulf were discussed in a businesslike atmosphere. Let us recall that a joint statement on this subject was adopted for the first time in the history of Soviet-Japanese relations—the situation of the Korean peninsula, the development of the situation in Europe, problems of the Asia-Pacific Ocean region. I have the impression that ideas voiced by the Soviet Union some years ago, which initially met a skeptical reception in Asia, are beginning to bear fruit. I mean the fact that in the course of the talks Nakayama expressed the wish that the positive changes taking place in Europe, which are to a significant degree the result of the development of the Helsinki process, should spread to Asia. We can conclude from this that the proposal to establish multilateral negotiating machinery in Asia is also receiving support.

I believe that the Japanese side also has reason to be satisfied at the course of the talks. Shevardnadze said

that the Soviet Union is sincerely striving to contribute to strategic stability in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region. He cited specific data confirming that we not only talk about this, but also act accordingly—the elimination of medium- and short-range nuclear missiles is nearing its conclusion; Soviet troops are leaving Mongolia—there will be no Soviet military presence there next year; in 1991 our Armed Forces in the Asian part of our country will be cut by 200,000 men, and in the Far East land troops are being cut by 12 divisions; 11 aviation regiments are being disbanded; 16 warships are being taken out of service in the Pacific Ocean fleet, including nine large surface ships and seven submarines. We reaffirm our intention to work toward the goal of there being no Soviet military presence at all outside our national frontiers in Asia in the near future, as in other parts of the world, too.

Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze said: We are ready to regard Japan not as a potential opponent, or any other opponent, and we intend to build our military policy in the Far East in line with this. At the same time, the Soviet minister offered high evaluation of the peaceful articles of the Japanese Constitution. Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze described them as Japan's great possession.

Discussions of the military-political situation in the Asia-Pacific Ocean region also began in a constructive spirit. I note again that not very long ago at all the Japanese walked out of talks on this topic, alleging that it was very difficult to talk about this in conditions where the Soviet Union maintained enormous numbers of troops in the Far East. Japan has now moved away from its former position. It was agreed to begin discussions in the near future, at the level of departmental leaders, on draft agreements on issues such as mutual familiarization with military doctrines, mutual notification of major exercises, and the invitation of observers to them, etc.

Assesses Bilateral Accords

LD0609104590 Moscow TASS in English 1017 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Tokyo September 6 TASS—Visiting Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Japanese counterpart Taro Nakayama delivered brief speeches here today after signing a number of Soviet-Japanese documents.

The documents signed today, the Soviet minister said, testify to our countries' desire to make another step towards achieving a full- blown relationship. These documents are [word indistinct] of joint efforts aimed at attaining this goal.

The Soviet Union is grateful to Japanese citizens and government for their readiness to help clear up the aftermath of the Chernobyl tragedy. The desire to help, sympathy and compassion are inseparably blended in this humane act, he said.

"We regard the signing of a memorandum of issues connected with preparing the Soviet president's visit to Japan as very important," Shevardnadze said. Its practical importance lies in the fact that the document sets a new departure point on the road to the Soviet-Japanese summit. The minister expressed conviction that the forthcoming meeting would turn a new page in Soviet-Japanese relations.

Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama said the documents signed in Tokyo today were very important for bilateral links; they will undoubtedly help establish better undertanding and instill conviction in the successful development of relations between the two countries, he said.

The minister spoke highly of the signing of the memorandum on cooperation between the Soviet Union and Japan in overcoming the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident. It was of great importance, he stressed, because the Japanese people were the first to feel the pain and suffering from the atomic tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The joint document on practical preparations for Gorbachev's visit to Japan, Nakayama stressed, is evidence of the great interest with which the Japanese people are looking forward to the Soviet leader's visit.

Meets Prime Minister Kaifu

LD0609100390 Moscow TASS in English 0951 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Alexander Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo September 6 TASS—Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu today received visiting Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at his residence.

Shevardnadze conveyed to the Japanese premier a verbal message from President Mikhail Gorbachev, which reaffirms his intention to pay an official visit to Japan in April next year.

In the course of their hour-long conversation, the two men exchanged views on the current situation in the world, discussed Japanese-Soviet relations and the military-political situation in the Asian-Pacific region.

Meets Former Prime Minister

LD0609140490 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo September 6 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today met former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone.

The talk focused on the present state of Soviet-Japanese relations and the existing opportunities and prospects for

their improvement. Nakasone praised the current restructuring process in the USSR, emphasising that Japan should support them in every way.

Nakasone noted that at the present stage, the two neighbouring countries could become partners. Shevardnadze fully supported this view.

The talks also concerned bilateral cooperation and Japan's assistance in cleaning up the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident. Nakasone said that Japan, which lived through the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, should play a direct role in cleaining up the after-effects of the accident.

Addresses Japanese Public

LD0609132590 Moscow TASS International Servicein Russian 1115 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo, 6 Sep (TASS)—The forthcoming visit by president of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, to Japan may become a turning point in the modern history of bilateral relations, Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, stated. In the course of his stay in Tokyo he made a speech today to representatives of the Japanese public in the capital's "Teykoku" hotel.

We came to Japan, said the Soviet minister, to discuss with the members of the Japanese leadership how to use joint efforts to impart greater quality to bilateral ties. This was the central aim of our visit. Why should we not, let us say, on the level of the supreme leadership, state that the USSR and Japan do not regard each other as the enemy. With whom is it better to come to an agreement, to untie the knots left from the past: with an adversary or a partner? The Soviet Union has neither reasons nor grounds nor motives to regard Japan as its enemy. We want to live like good neighbors, respecting the lawful interests of your great nation.

Although formally the state of war between the two countries has long ceased, and mutual relations have been restored and are not developing badly as a whole, Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out, the absence of a peace treaty which would draw a final line under the past, makes itself felt even now and does not give us room for movement forward.

Life has now changed decisively. What was impossible yesterday is seen differently in a situation where there are already precedents for resolving issues which were previously unthinkable. A year ago German unification seemed to be a utopia. In a week at the conference of the 'Six' in Moscow we hope to draw a line under the World War II in Europe. It is also time to do the same thing in the East.

It cannot be said that we are marking time, the Soviet minister continued. Work on drawing up the provisions of a peace treaty is underway and is making progress. At the same time the talks have shown that by using the oversimplified plans which are proposed to us quite frequently both in our country, the Soviet Union, and in your country, Japan, this problem cannot be managed.

Previously it was possible to resolve a great deal "from above," that is to say by administrative means. It is now impossible to act this way on issues concerning matters which are sensitive ones for peoples. Democracy and the principle of self-determination mean that the voices of people who are directly affected by a particular decision should be taken into consideration first of all. Our people have its own opinion and we are not entitled to fail to heed it. It would be fine if it were heeded in Japan, too.

The minister said that the Japanese side's "formula" is well known to us: "Economics should not be separated from politics." If the USSR were also to stand on this point of view and not separate them, there would be neither politics nor economic cooperation. It is not a matter of charity but of mutually beneficial and economically substantiated ties. Of course, we could reject these. But what would come about would not be a combination of politics and economics, but the force of politics over considerations of common sense. It would be more sensible to strive so that politics might help economies to grow and so that economics might stimulate politics. The time is ripe energetically to lead things through our joint efforts toward the formation of a new concept for all our commercial-economic ties.

Time is needed to interpret everything and to provide people with an opportunity to make a choice, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed. Let us devote the decade that remains until the 21st century to the attainment of our main goal: the construction of new relations. Perhaps it will be easier for us in the course of this process of construction to find answers to the most difficult questions.

Commentary Views Shevardnadze's Visit to Japan

OW0609080890 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Commentary by Dmitriyev]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Shevaradnadze's visit to Japan was originally scheduled to take place last spring. When it was decided to postpone the trip until September, it was speculated that the Soviet Union wanted to shelve the task of improving its relations with Japan in favor of dealing with its own domestic issues. However, it seems that all such speculations can now be dismissed. The purpose of Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's current visit to Japan is to pave the way for President Gorbachev's upcoming trip to that country.

The outcome of Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's talks with Japanese officials in many respects will affect various details pertaining to the supreme Soviet leader's first visit. At a recent news conference, President Gorbachev stated that he would visit Japan next spring.

Moreover, he announced that he would be ready to hold talks with Japan on any topics connected with the development of relations. Welcoming this statement, Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu pointed out that Japanese-Soviet relations are developing in accordance with a sound orientation. All of this indicates the existence of an excellent atmosphere. In fact, it seems that Foreign Minister Shevardnadze has begun his visit to Japan in a favorable atmosphere.

According to the KYODO NEWS SERVICE, the Japanese Government intends to call Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's attention to its program for promoting intellectual cooperation with his country in the economic field. Included in this program are five aspects that will enable the Soviet Union to obtain experience with a market-oriented economy. In addition, as part of its humanitarian cooperation, Japan intends to send a medical team to the Soviet Union to support the relief programs established for victims of the Chernobyl nuclear power station accident.

According to information received from Tokyo, Japan is ready to undertake measures to cooperate with the Soviet Union in strengthening security in the Asia-Pacific region for the first time. Included in these measures is a plan to hold regular consultations between personnel connected with the military. Attention has also been aroused by the news that Prime Minister Kaifu has demanded that reference to the Soviet threat be dropped from the Defense White Paper.

In an interview with ASAHI SHIMBUN, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze paid a great deal of attention to regional security. He pointed to the necessity of initiating confidence-building measures between the Soviet Union and Japan on this matter, and he called on Japan to hold discussions. As an ASAHI SHIMBUN commentary on Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's remarks has noted, the process of overcoming confrontations in the Asian-Pacific region has been developing at a slower pace than that occurring in Europe.

If the Soviet Union and Japan undertake joint efforts in this regard, then not only would the process of defusing tension in Asia be strengthened but an improvement in bilateral relations would be promoted as well. Just like the pace of defusing tension in Asia as a whole has lagged, so too has the development of bilateral relations fallen far behind the pace of improvement in Soviet relations with other neighboring nations.

Taking such circumstances into consideration, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's current visit will be able to create sufficient conditions for overcoming the lag in improving the relations between our two countries. There is, however, a well-known obstacle to this improvement; namely, the territorial issue. On the day before Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit, Prime Minister Kaifu stated that this issue should be settled soon.

To resolve this problem, the return of four Kuril Islands to Japan is under consideration. If Japan should overemphasize this aspect of the issue, however, we cannot expect that any remarkable results will be achieved by Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's current visit. If the Soviet side avoids discussing this topic, then no progress can be expected. At present, there are no grounds to think that such a situation could not happen.

We hope, however, that further progress will be made so that the two sides will reach an accord and promote constructive cooperation on this issue. This is precisely what is in the interests of our two nations. For example, at a 3 September news conference, President Suzuki of the Japan Federation of Employers' Association called on the Japanese Government to lessen the strict regulations concerning the promotion of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. Moreover, President Suzuki pointed out that if the government should fail to revise its traditional position of not separating political consideration from economic interests, Japan will be left behind in the international community when drastic changes take place in the world.

Gorbachev's Visit to Japan Planned for April

LD0609055790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0544 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] The teletype has just brought us two pieces of news from Tokyo. I will now acquaint you with them. Toshiki Kaifu, the Japanese prime minister, has met Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, who is here on an official visit. In the course of the conversation the parties will discuss the timescales of the visit to Japan of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, USSR president, and will also exchange opinions on the present state and prospects of Japanese-Soviet relations.

And immediately after this, this telegram arrived: The visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the USSR president, to Japan will take place in April of next year. This timescale for the arrival of the Soviet leader to the Japanese islands was agreed today in the course of the conversation between Toshiki Kaifu, Japanese prime minister, and Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, who is here on an official visit. These are the latest telegrams.

Visit Will Be 'Turning Point'

LD0609132590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1115 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo, 6 Sep (TASS)—The forthcoming visit by president of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, to Japan may become a turning point in the modern history of bilateral relations, Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, stated. In the course of his stay in Tokyo he made a speech today to representatives of the Japanese public in the capital's "Teykoku" Hotel.

We came to Japan, said the Soviet minister, to discuss with the members of the Japanese leadership how to use joint efforts to impart greater quality to bilateral ties. This was the central aim of our visit. Why should we not, let us say, on the level of the supreme leadership, state that the USSR and Japan do not regard each other as the enemy. With whom is it better to come to an agreement, to untie the knots left from the past: with an adversary or a partner? The Soviet Union has neither reasons nor grounds or motives to regard Japan as its enemy. We want to live like good neighbors, respecting the lawful interests of your great nation.

Although formally the state of war between the two countries has long ceased and mutual relations have been restored and are not developing badly as a whole, Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out, the absence of a peace treaty which would draw a final line under the past makes itself felt even now and does not give us room for movement forward.

Life has now changed decisively. What was impossible yesterday is seen differently in a situation where there are already precedents for resolving issues which were previously unthinkable. A year ago German unification seemed to be a utopia. In a week at the conference of the 'Six' in Moscow we hope to draw a line under World War II in Europe. It is also time to do the same thing in the East.

It cannot be said that we are marking time, the Soviet minister continued. Work on drawing up the provisions of a peace treaty is under way and is making progress. At the same time the talks have shown that by using the oversimplified plans which are proposed to us quite frequently both in our country—the Soviet Union—and in your country—Japan—this problem cannot be managed.

Previously it was possible to resolve a great deal "from above," that is to say by administrative means. It is now impossible to act this way on issues concerning matters which are sensitive for people. Democracy and the principle of self-determination mean that the voices of people who are directly affected by a particular decision should be taken into consideration first. Our people have our own opinion, and we are not entitled to fail to heed it. It would be fine if it were heeded in Japan, too.

The minister said that the Japanese side's "formula" is well known to us: "Economics should not be separated from politics." If the USSR were also to stand on this point of view and not separate them, there would be neither politics nor economic cooperation. It is not a matter of charity but of mutually beneficial and economically substantiated ties. Of course, we could reject these; but what would come about would not be a combination of politics and economics, but the force of politics over considerations of commonsense. It would be more sensible to strive so that politics might help economies to grow and so that economics might stimulate politics. The time is ripe to lead things energetically through our joint efforts toward the formation of a new concept for all our commercial-economic ties.

Time is needed to interpret everything and to provide people with an opportunity to make a choice, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed. Let us devote the decade that remains until the 21st century to the attainment of our main goal: the construction of new relations. Perhaps it will be easier for us in the course of this process of construction to find answers to the most difficult questions.

Japanese Premier Praises Superpower Summit

LD0409084790 Moscow TASS in English 0718 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS Correspondent Vadim Yegorov]

[Text] Tokyo September 4 TASS—Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu has said he hopes the Soviet-U.S. Summit in Helsinki on September 9 devoted to the Gulf crisis will be a success.

Kaifu told a news conference on Monday that he 'hoped that specific agreements will be reached during the meeting between the two leaders whose role in the current world processes is extremly great".

He said he anticipated in-depth talks between Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, who are making great efforts to overcome outdated cold war ideas.

The prime minister noted that a global mechanism is currently being formed to settle international conflicts on the basis of Soviet-U.S. cooperation.

First Premier-Level North, South Korean Talks

'Cooperation, Exchanges' Planned

LD0409075290 Moscow TASS in English 0645 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Ryabov]

[Text] Pyongyang September 4 TASS—A North Korean delegation headed by Premier Yon Hyong-muk today crossed the military demarcation line in Panmunjom to enter South Korea. They are heading for the first ever talks between the prime ministers of North and South Korea.

A statement made in Panmunjom by Secretary of the Committee for Unification of the Motherland Han Pyong-su, sends hearty greetings to his compatriots and expresses readiness for substantial discussions of military-political and other issues to clear the way for unification.

On the eve of the prime ministers' meeting, North and South Korean news organisations comment on the talks. Unification should be reached independently, by

peaceful means and dialogue between North and South, writes the NODONG SINMUN newspaper, the organ of the Korean Workers' Party.

The newspaper notes that the prime ministers will discuss bilateral contacts and moves concerning the United Nations. Particular attention should be paid to the relaxation of military and political confrontation and the development of all-round cooperation and exchanges between North and South.

An international press centre has already been opened at the Seoul Intercontinental Hotel, where some 500 Korean and foreign correspondents are expected to work.

Prospects for Unification Viewed

PM0509105190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by V. Nadashkevich: "DPRK-South Korea: Step Toward Each Other"]

[Text] Pyongyang—Today, for the first time in the entire history of the existence of two states—the DPRK and South Korea—on the Korean peninsula, their prime ministers are to meet in Seoul to begin talks on reconciliation and dialogue between the inhabitants of North and South and on reciprocal visits and to discuss many other questions. The talks, if successful, could lead to mutual arms reduction, a lowering of military-political confrontation, and the conclusion of a nonaggression pact.

Let us recall that after Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945 the country found itself split in two as a result of the political calculations of the two great powers—the USSR and the United States. The North embarked on democratic transformations and at once aimed at a socialist path of development. The South took a different path. Five years later an attempt was made on the peninsula to unite Korea by military means. However, the bloody three-year war, into which approximately 20 states were drawn, did not bring success to any of the sides and merely consolidated the split.

During the 37 years that have elapsed since the war attempts, albeit timid, have occasionally been made to reach agreement on something. In the early eighties, for example, as many as 25 sessions of the DPRK and South Korean Red Cross Societies were held in Panmunjom to discuss, in particular, trips to North and South and searches for and meetings with members of families separated by the war. However, the sides were profoundly suspicious of each other and were unable to agree on anything.

Therefore the North-South agreement to hold a meeting of premiers for the first time after a split lasting decades has elicited very lively interest not only in the two Korean states but also throughout the world, particularly in countries in the Asia and Pacific region.

It took the DPRK and South Korea almost a year to agree on this. The dialogue now ceased, now resumed. The seventh round of preliminary talks held in early July proved decisive.

The DPRK is going into the premiers' meeting with ideas stemming from the program for alleviating the situation on the peninsula—a program which has taken long years to draw up. One of its theses proclaims: "Disarmament in Korea is a priority task and a fundamental condition for ensuring peace. Without disarmament it is impossible to achieve North-South trust, to hold talks, or to achieve national reconciliation and cohesion and the country's peaceful unification. In order to ensure full and permanent peace here it is necessary, above all, to end the state of temporary truce. What is needed is a North-South declaration of nonaggression, a DPRK-U.S. peace agreement, a reduction in the armed forces of South and North Korea, and the withdrawal of foreign troops and nuclear weapons from the South."

The North advocates the creation of a peaceful, nuclear-free zone on the peninsula, resolutely rejects the Seoul administration's claims that it is the source of the war danger, and rebuts charges of planning to convert South Korea to communism by force. Pyongyang emphasizes that it categorically advocates the motherland's unification by peaceful means.

South Korea is not going empty-handed into the meeting either. It too has extensive plans and ideas, in many ways similar to North Korea's. What is more, its government, according to President No Tae-u, is "ready to discuss and implement any North Korean initiative if it leads to an improvement in inter-Korean relations. The government will seek a suitable moment for the Korean peninsula's unification during the next four or five years."

Thus, the DPRK and South Korea are now being accorded a real opportunity to take an important step toward peace and security in the region and to influence the future of the world's only divided country.

Importance Assessed

LD0509152490 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS political news analyst Gennadiy Petrov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—September 1990 can make political history as a watershed on the road to detente in the Asia-Pacific region. After 45 years of confrontation, heads of government of South and North Korea started talks in Seoul today.

A road to the beginning of a North-South Korean dialogue was long and difficult. The Seoul talks will not be easy either. However the fact that North Korean Prime Minister Yon Hyong-muk and his South Korean counterpart Kang Yong-hun sat down at the negotiating table to try to overcome confrontation is an event of exceptional importance.

The Seoul meeting became possible thanks to the recent constructive position of the two sides and their awareness of the urgent need to put an end to differences, to tackle the problem of Korean reunification and thus to eliminate tension in the region.

In this context, one should emphasise the importance of North Korean proposals, also supported by the Soviet Union. Three years ago the DPRK proposed a phased cut in the Armed Forces of North and South and reduced its Army by 100,000 people as an example. On many occasions Pyongyang favoured creating nuclear-free zones on the South of the Korean peninsula, talks between the DPRK, U.S. and South Korea, and removing the foreign military presence.

The first talks between heads of government of the two Koreas in 45 years have begun. Whatever the results of this meeting, its importance will be hard to overestimate.

It is also important that not only military and political but also economic issues are being discussed. Mutually advantageous economic cooperation can serve in future as a foundation for the two countries' rapprochement on the principle of equality.

Rogachev Addresses Reports on Asian Region

PM0409141390 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I. Rogachev: "Solving Problems on the Basis of the Principles of Partnership. USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I. Rogachev Responds to Articles in TRUD"]

[Text] When he had seen the TRUD articles USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze asked me, his deputy dealing with questions of the USSR's relations with countries in the Asian and Pacific region, to comment on the problems in our country's relations with neighboring states raised in the articles "Is the Sealed Border Necessary?" "On an Interception Course," "In the Taiga... Abroad," and "Islands in the Ocean."

I am doing this willingly not only in the line of duty, but also as a reader of TRUD. Other Soviet mass media have also recently published articles on these topics. And this certainly reflects our public's growing interest in them.

Specifically, the aforementioned articles in your newspaper raise three groups of questions: the use of the labor of North Korean workers in logging operations in Khabarovsk Kray and Amur Oblast, Japan's territorial claims against the Soviet Union, and violations of our country's state border by Japanese fishermen. They are all linked by a common theme—the Far East.

1. In our opinion, TRUD's roving team of journalists rightly draws attention to the **major shortcomings in the organization of cooperation with the DPRK in the sphere of logging operations on the territory of Khabarovsk Kray and Amur Oblast.**

Certainly, no one would deny that in principle such cooperation involving the use of foreign manpower in a region where there is an extreme shortage of manpower of our own is to the advantage of the Soviet side, if you approach the matter from the standpoint of state interests. In the last 20 years we have obtained for nationwide needs over 40 million cubic meters of wood which we would not have had without involving manpower from the DPRK.

But of course, this in no way belittles the correctness of TRUD's raising of the question of the costs we sustain in this process. I am referring not to how thriftily we are using timber resources in allowing over two million cubic meters of wood per year to be logged in the region in question (such questions should be put to the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry or USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] government bodies), but to how the Korean side is observing the logging rules laid down by the agreements and the norms of Soviet legislation. There are indeed many—and serious—violations here. Through its own channels the USSR Foreign Ministry has repeatedly warned the Korean side of the impermissibility of these violations. We know that the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry has also taken and is taking measures to ensure that the Korean loggers' work and behavior do not contravene bilateral agreements and internal Soviet customs. So far as I am aware, the Korean side is drawing the correct conclusions from this. I will note in passing that the local Soviet authorities, it seems to me, should also act more resolutely in cases where the law is being violated.

The present Soviet-Korean intergovernmental agreement on timber procurements on USSR territory expires in December 1990. By decision of the 24th session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Korean consultative commission on economic, scientific, and technical questions (Pyongyang, April 1990), the USSR and DPRK Ministries of the Timber Industry are to hold talks before the end of this year and to determine whether Soviet-Korean cooperation in the sphere of logging operations should continue. It goes without saying that, if a new agreement is concluded, it should clearly stipulate all the necessary provisions to preclude a repetition of the negative phenomena correctly indicated by your paper. The USSR Foreign Ministry will keep an eye on this and, in cooperation with the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry, will make efforts to ensure that such provisions are strictly observed.

2. The articles in TRUD note the deep concern and indignation of residents of the southern Kuril Islands at the remarks of certain USSR people's deputies in favor of transferring these lands to Japan or placing them under international wardship.

In this connection I would like to set out **the Soviet Government's official position on the question of these islands.**

We proceed from the basis that there are no doubts from the viewpoint of either international law or history that the Kuril Islands, including their southern part, belong to the Soviet Union. Russia had priority in their discovery, exploration, and opening up. After World War II the Kuril Islands passed to our country in accordance with a whole series of agreements among the allied powers. We are convinced of the justice and honesty of this position and intend to continue to adhere to it.

At the same time we attach great importance to organizing relations of good-neighborliness and full-blooded cooperation with Japan—one of the foremost world powers and one which leads in the economy, science, and technology in a whole series of spheres and which is furthermore our near neighbor. Unfortunately, the development of such relations is seriously curbed by the lack of a peace treaty between the two countries, and the conclusion of a treaty is blocked by Japanese territorial claims. In this connection in December 1988 we put forward an initiative and reached agreement with the Japanese side on creating a permanent working group on a peace treaty between the USSR and Japan whose task would be to discuss all aspects concerning this document, including the question of the line of the Soviet-Japanese state border. Several sessions of this group have already been held, the last on 1 August of this year. During these meetings, as at the talks between foreign ministers, the Soviet side consistently advocates concluding a treaty based on the results of World War II and proceeding from existing realities.

3. As for the **question of Japanese fishermen's violations of the USSR state border,** over the last two or three years there has, indeed, been a sharp increase in the number of such violations for purposes of illegal fishing. These violations can be said to have become massive, clearly overstepping permissible limits if you bear in mind normal relations between states. Admittedly, it should be noted that the overwhelming majority of ships committing violations bear no identification marks, but they enter our waters "from the direction of Japan," so to speak.

The USSR Foreign Ministry, attaching the most serious importance to this problem, has repeatedly drawn the attention of the Japanese side at various levels to the cases of violations of the USSR state border by Japanese fishermen and has pressed for the immediate adoption of effective measures to stop them. We intend to continue to raise this question.

However, a package of measures is clearly needed to resolve this problem. In our opinion, it should include the appropriation of additional funds in order to provide proper technical equipment for our border guard subunits in the aforementioned section of the Soviet border, the substantial expansion of the scale of fishing by our fishing fleet, and work toward pooling efforts with other interested countries in order to stop this blatant poaching.

I think that efforts to seek mutually acceptable forms of cooperation with the Japanese side in this region could also be of considerable benefit. I am convinced that a sensible and reliable solution ensuring the inviolability of our border and our economic interests can be found more rapidly precisely along the road of mutually advantageous partnership rather than confrontation.

Respectfully, and in readiness to continue cooperation with TRUD.

[Signed] USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I. Rogachev

Gorbachev Congratulates Mongolian President

LD0509215490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1728 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has sent Mongolian People's Republic President Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat a telegram congratulating him on his election to the post of President of Mongolia.

Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the confidence that all-round Soviet-Mongolian cooperation will continue to develop, and be strengthened on a renewed basis for the good of the peoples of both countries, and wished Ochirbat success.

DPRK Naval Ships' Visit to Vladivostok Cited

SK0609070090 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 3 Sep 90

[From the "Annals of Friendship" program]

[Text] Under the command of DPRK Vice Admiral (Kong Sang-hun), battleships belonging to the DPRK naval fleet visited Vladivostok for 24-28 August. In a news conference Vice Admiral (Kong Sang-hun) said that the sea does not divide us but leads us to be close, and the sea border becomes the bridge for the relations of trust and friendship.

The DPRK guests toured enterprises in Vladivostok and acquainted themselves with the citizens' lives. Korean sailors met with Soviet sailors and laid a wreath in front of the (?memorial tower for fallen soldiers) of the Soviet Pacific Fleet.

Near East & South Asia

Iraqi Foreign Minister's Moscow Visit Continues

Meets Gorbachev 5 Sep

LD0509144590 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today received Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz, who arrived in the Soviet Union on a brief visit.

Relays Message From Saddam

JN0509193690 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1914 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (INA)—Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, said that he relayed during the meeting an oral message from His Excellency President Saddam Husayn to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

In a statement to an INA correspondent in Moscow tonight, 'Aziz added that he also held talks with Aleksandr Belonogov, USSR deputy foreign minister.

Holds News Conference

PM0609145090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent Yu. Gatselyuk: "Tariq 'Aziz News Conference"]

[Text] Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz gave a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists in Moscow on 6 August at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center. IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Gatselyuk was there.

In a brief introductory statement the Iraqi foreign minister said that he was in Moscow as his president's envoy. The purpose of the visit was to exchange opinions on questions connected with the current situation in the Persian Gulf on the eve of the upcoming meeting between USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush in Helsinki.

Iraqi President Saddam Husayn wanted to inform M.S. Gorbachev of his position on the situation in the region and associated problems. Despite the differences between the Soviet and Iraqi approaches to these problems, Tariq 'Aziz pointed out, we managed, on the basis of long-standing friendly traditions, to conduct a sincere and cordial exchange on all the questions touched on during the meetings.

Then Tariq 'Aziz said he was ready to answer journalists' questions.

[IZVESTIYA] Soon we will have the Helsinki meeting. Was there any intention on your part in this connection to send with M.S. Gorbachev any message from Saddam Husayn to the U.S. President?

['Aziz] No, there was no such request on our part. We exchanged opinions on our positions. Now M.S. Gorbachev is entitled to use the information I have imparted to him and the arguments I was able to present to him as he sees fit.

[IZVESTIYA] Are you disappointed with the Soviet leadership's critical approach to the situation?

['Aziz] I was able to exchange opinions on questions connected with the state of affairs in the region with the Soviet president and his colleagues in the USSR Foreign Ministry. We are aware that the approaches differ significantly. But it is important to us that the Soviet Union is endeavoring to listen to us and wants to know our position. This is the only way to appreciate different viewpoints and arrive at a solution to problems.

[IZVESTIYA] While you were meeting with M.S. Gorbachev Saddam Husayn was again urging the Arabs to launch a "holy war" against the presence of foreign forces in Saudi Arabia. This does not appear very constructive....

['Aziz] That is your view. In my view this statement does not contradict Iraq's simultaneously holding talks with the USSR. We are waging a struggle against a foreign presence on our land. I do not see any contradiction here.

[IZVESTIYA] Virtually the entire world community condemns Iraq's position. What does the Baghdad government think about that?

['Aziz] We have our own finger on the pulse in our region, we have our own position, and our own path, which we intend to defend.

[IZVESTIYA] Two questions. Do you intend to have a similar meeting to the one that has just been held in Moscow after Helsinki? Second—will the Iraqi Government give our country guarantees that all its citizens will be allowed freely to leave Iraq for the USSR?

['Aziz] We have expressed our desire to continue contacts for the purpose of exchanging opinions in the future. We would welcome a wish by the Soviet leadership to hold an exchange with us after Helsinki. As for guarantees of safety and freedom of movement for Soviet citizens, there are no restrictions in this respect. The special emergency measures that Iraq took in relation to the citizens of other foreign states do not apply to Soviet people.

[IZVESTIYA] Do you think it is possible to settle the question of the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait by diplomatic means on the basis of resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council?

['Aziz] Iraq is convinced that the solution to this question must be found by the Arab countries. And I am convinced that the necessary foundation for this can be found. There is a great deal of talk at the moment about the alleged lack of requisite unity among the Arab countries. However, in my view, as far as the position of active political forces and the position of the masses are concerned, this unity exists in the Arab world. Nevertheless, some governments certainly have followed the U.S. lead and decided to protect its interests. But, at the end of the day, the idea of Arab unity will prevail.

Explains Role of Specialists

LD0609075290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0725 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev from the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Sep (TASS)—"Soviet military experts have not taken part in any sovereign actions of the Iraqi Government; these are simply military experts who are, so to speak, "in the background" and carrying out their role in training our troops." This was said here today by Tariq 'Aziz, Iraqi minister of foreign affairs, in response to a question asking whether the Soviet military experts in Iraq had played any kind of role in preparing the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Tariq 'Aziz, who arrived in Moscow yesterday for consultations with the Soviet leadership, held a news conference today for Soviet and foreign journalists.

In reply to a question on whether the issue of military experts had been discussed yesterday in the course of the meeting between the Iraqi spokesman and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, Tariq 'Aziz said: "The president did not raise this question."

At the same time the Iraqi foreign minister added that he had discussed this issue with Aleksandr Belonogov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. According to 'Aziz, the Iraqi side was granting the Soviet side the right to resolve the question of the further presence of its military experts in Iraq. "I set out our position to him (Aleksandr Belonogov - correspondent's note) in accordance with which our Soviet friends may either stay or leave," Tariq 'Aziz said. "For our part, we are pleased with the technical work that they are carrying out. But I believe that the Soviet Government itself and these people themselves should make this decision."

Terms Talks 'Constructive'

LD0609093290 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz has described his meeting with President Gorbachev on Wednesday at "constructive" and "sincere".

'Aziz arrived here on Wednesday for consultations with Soviet leaders on the situation in the Gulf.

In a brief statement here today, 'Aziz noted that there are "considerable differences" between the Soviet Union and Iraq concerning the situation in the Gulf.

Noting that the visit was taking place on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Helsinki, 'Aziz [words indistinct] interested in holding consultations with the Soviet Union after the summit. He said he passed President Gorbachev no message to the U.S. President.

Asked about the Soviet Union's role in working out a compromise, 'Aziz said that, in his opinion, the Soviet leadership "wanted to play a more active role" and Iraq "would welcome this".

Speaking of a Gulf settlement, 'Aziz said the situation, in Baghdad's opinion, can be settled by Arab states. He said the Iraqi Government might make any steps towards a settlement only after general principles for the solution of the whole range of Middle East problems, including the Palestinian problem, are worked out.

The minister said the United States, Britain and France, which "arrogantly" rejected the Iraqi initiative of August 12, do not want to hold systematic discussions of Arab problems and described their current position on the Middle East settlement as "two-faced".

'Aziz refuted allegations that Soviet military experts had taken part "in any sovereign actions by the Iraqi Government". "They are 'in the background' and their task is to train our troops," 'Aziz said.

Speaking of guarantees to Soviet citizens in Iraq, the minister said restrictions on movements, used against other foreigners, do not affect them. "They can say in our country or leave it," he said.

Iraqi Ambassador Notes 'Similarity of Views'

LD0509195790 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev has received in the Kremlin the Iraqi foreign minister who is staying here on a brief working visit.

The Iraqi ambassador to the USSR, Ghafil Jassim Husayn, has told the Soviet youth daily KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA that the two countries maintain close contacts.

He added that there is a similarity of views on the ways of settling the Gulf crisis peacefully.

International news agencies have called attention to the fact that Gorbachev's meting with the Iraqi minister comes four days before the Soviet-American summit in Helsinki which will give special prominence to the Gulf problem.

The meeting looks still more important in the wake of President Saddam Husayn's call on Wednseday for a holy Islamic war against American troops in Saudi Arabia and for the overthrow of the Saudi King Fahd.

In his address to the nation over Baghdad television the Iraqi leader blamed the United States for the sanctions introduced against his country.

Senate Panel Questions Baker on Gulf Policy

LD0509215290 Moscow TASS in English 2059 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korolev]

[Text] Washington September 6 TASS—The importance of working out plans for the creation of a new regional security structure for the Middle East was stressed by U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker during testimony before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The committee held hearings in connection with the Gulf crisis caused by Iraq's takeover of Kuwait.

Baker recalled that this was the first real crisis of the post-cold war era and said that "this is not the last crisis of this nature we are likely to face in this region".

This is why he believed it was worthwhile to begin considering regional security structures that would guarantee an equilibrium in this region, that will produce peace.

Baker said he counted on cooperation with friends and allies to find mutually acceptable agreements that would guarantee peace and prosperity.

Baker called for taking into consideration regional realities and said the United States was not yet considering any specific model of the NATO type. The alliance's successful role in Europe, Baker said, does not mean that the United States call for creating a NATO-type alliance for the Middle East.

He said it was necessary to make clear that aggression was unable to yield desired effects. It means accomplishing the tasks and aims set by the U.S. President and U.N. resolutions.

Regional security structures, he stressed, must not be at variance with the universal action within the U.N. framework.

Opposition Groups Reportedly Plan To Kill Saddam

LD0609121390 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Malyarov]

[Text] Cairo September 6 TASS—Several opposition groups in Iraq have agreed to pool efforts to kill President Saddam Husayn, the Cairo-based newspaper AL-WAFD said today, quoting sources among the Kurdish opposition in Iraq.

It said Iraqi Moslem resistance groups, Kurdish rebels and military officers discontented with the Saddam government agreed at a closed-door meeting in Damascus to kill Saddam and proclaim a democratic state in Iraq.

The Kurdish sources say Saddam's recent "capitulation" to Iran and his recognition of the 1975 Iran-Iraq treaty have sparked a wave of discontent among Iraqi military officers.

Commentaries Report on Persian Gulf Crisis

Soviet Stance Defended

PM0509101490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Aleksandr Bovin: "Political Observer's Opinion": "Kuwait: The Crisis Continues"]

[Text] The international crisis caused by Iraq's attack on Kuwait is continuing. For more than a month now Saddam Husayn has been disturbing the world community, trying to assert the dominance of tyranny over law.

The Soviet Union's position has been and remains quite straightforward—resolute condemnation of the aggressor and support for collective efforts, including the reprisals recommended by the Security Council which are designed to reestablish the status quo in the region. On the whole this stance is meeting with understanding and support. But not just that. In a number of press items Moscow is being reproached for inconsistency and the motives of Soviet policy are being distorted with attempts being made to discover a "false bottom" to this policy.

The question is frequently posed thus. A rise in the price of oil is advantageous to the Soviet Union just as is the preservation of good relations with Iraq and its friends. Therefore tactically it has a vested interest in the continuation of the crisis. And, conversely, it has no interest in excessive pressure being applied to Iraq. But if the discussion is carried over into the strategic plane, the Soviet Union has an even greater need of Western aid. And therefore, despite noticeable wavering it is acting on the West's side in the Gulf.

In certain Arab publications the coincidence of the stances of the USSR and of the United States is interpreted as a retreat by the Soviet Union and as its loss of great-power status. "It is a matter of indifference to us now, how the Soviet Union votes," reports the Jordanian current affairs writer Tariq Masarwah, "because the Soviet leadership of its own volition has destroyed the country's might and handed it over to the imperialists as a third-rate power." Thus in these "fortunate times of perestroyka," the Jordanian journalist 'Abd-al-Haqq writes with irony, "the Soviet representative in the United Nations is virtually unable to raise his voice without the prior blessing of the American master who has become the sole leader of the world."

I shall return later to these pronouncements but, for the time being, let us take a specific look at how the theory about vacillations and about the inconsistency of Soviet policy is argued.

It is said that the Soviet representative tried to retard in every way the adoption by the UN Security Council of the decision on the possibility of using military force in order to ensure compliance with the trade embargo against Iraq (Resolution 655). I think that it is plain to everyone that where Armed Forces come into play the danger of an escalation of conflict and its development into hostilities patently increases. In preparing a decision, aximum caution, well-weighed consideration, and a calculation of possible situations several moves in advance are needed. Evidently these were the considerations by which the Soviet representative was guided and he did right.

It is alleged that Soviet weapons are continuing to arrive in Iraq via Libya. No concrete facts are adduced. Most probably they do not even exist. In any case the Soviet Union is categorically against such re-export of weapons.

It is reported that Moscow knew in advance of the seizure of Kuwait that was being prepared, and kept silent. As proof, reference is made to the fact that Colonel General A.M. Makashov was in Baghdad on 17 July, and that his Iraqi colleagues could not fail to have said to him that.... But, as I was assured at the USSR Defense Ministry Press Center, Col. Gen. Makashov did not visit Baghdad.

Reference is also made to the fact that the Soviet Union, on the one hand, has still not recalled all its military experts from Iraq, while, on the other hand, it met Iraq's demand and (in contrast to the United States, Britain, France, and many other states) evacuated its entire embassy personnel from Kuwait.

This certainly makes it more difficult to defend our positions. Condemning Iraq as an aggressor, while, at the same time, leaving in Iraq 193 officers who can assist in handling Soviet weapons and Soviet equipment is dubious logic.

It is no good in terms of a proper argument to refer to concern for the fate of Soviet people who were in Kuwait and are in Iraq. Washington and London are equally concerned about their people, but they resolutely reject all attempts at blackmail. Our line is less tough. So the accusations of excessive tactical "flexibility" are partly not without foundation.

I said partly. The history and character of Soviet relations with the Arab world are different from those of U.S. and Western relations with the Arab world. And this is bound to affect the tactical contours of current policy.

If our superdepartments—Foreign Ministry and Defense Ministry—were to behave less coyly, if they were to clearly explain and describe the motivation behind their decisions and their positions, many doubts and questions would vanish of their own accord. Excuse me for going on yet again about the benefits of glasnost.

Now for the strategic sphere.

Yes indeed, perestroyka is our paramount concern. And anyone who says this is not saying anything new.

It is nothing new either to say that perestroyka needs detente, peace, and disarmament. The cold war, with its inherent polarization of political forces and the special, overarching role of Soviet-American relations, has ended. This role remains significant even now. But the United Nations is beginning to take a front seat in maintaining peace—entirely in accordance with its Charter and with Moscow's wishes. "The United Nations is indebted primarily to Gorbachev, who has become its chief defender, for the fact that it has been rehabilitated 45 years after its creation," the Paris paper LE MONDE writes. "The Soviet Union, which for several decades treated this international organization as a vehicle for spreading its propaganda and winning over Third World countries..., is suddenly filled with respect for the United Nations, declaring its desire that the organization should play a leading role. This change is certainly no whim. It was the consequence of the relaxation of East-West relations, as seen by Gorbachev."

But how does S. Husayn see it? He demonstrated his attitude toward detente and toward the UN Charter by perfidiously attacking Kuwait. History, if you like, has set up a decisive experiment. Either the status quo is restored through collective efforts, which means that the new world order, geared to disarmament and to the gradual reduction of the proportion of violence in international affairs, prevails. Or Iraq annexes Kuwait, which means that fist law prevails, the United Nations loses, and new incentives to arm appear—particularly in the Third World. It follows from this that aggression should never go unpunished. It follows from this that Moscow's strategic line is to establish under UN auspices a broad coalition of states actively opposing aggression.

The Soviet Union does not idealize U.S. policy. Remember Grenada. Remember Panama. There is a tight, oil-soaked knot of interests tying the United States to the Persian Gulf. But in this situation the United States is obviously committed to stopping the aggression and punishing the aggressor.

One can sympathize with the Arabs. Foreign forces, the forces of a power whose relations with the Arabs are ambiguous, to say the least, stand alongside sacred land, places that are holy to the Arabs. I do not think the Soviet Union is exactly delighted about the massive U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia either.

But what alternative is there? It would be lovely if the "Arab family" were to get to grips with its own affairs and put its hyperactive "brother" in his place. But the Arabs were unable to accomplish this task.

By talking about a "third-rate power" and the "U.S. master," the aforementioned Jordanian journalists are straying from the realistic, authentic account of events. In fact the Americans were summoned by the Arabs themselves. So who is the offending party? Whom do you criticize?

The more troops and the more weapons there are, the more likely it is that war will break out. It seems to me inevitable that Iraq would suffer a crushing defeat, would be routed in that event. The strategic task would be accomplished. But at what cost? At the cost of many deaths and much devastation. That is why the Soviet Union believes that every opportunity to prevent war from occurring must be explored.

The outcome—war or peace—depends on Iraq. Judging by the tone of ultimatum employed by Iraq and by its proposals, which preserve various fruits of aggression, Baghdad is preparing for war. In these conditions support for Iraqi policy, criticism of the United Nations, anti-American demonstrations, and attacks on the USSR prevent Baghdad from making a self-critical appraisal of the situation and objectively, contrary to the will of the supporters and the demonstrators, diminish the prospect of peace and bring war closer.

Meanwhile—meanwhile the crisis continues....

Political Solution Needed

PM0509110390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[By Vladimir Belyakov "Viewpoint": "Persian Gulf: Where Is the Way Out of the Impasse"]

[Text] Cairo—It is now more than one month since Iraq's act of "state piracy" against Kuwait. As is well known, the world reacted to it quickly and virtually unanimously. The UN Security Council in the resolutions that it immediately adopted condemned the aggression, demanded the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait, and imposed economic sanctions on Baghdad. Some states went beyond those decisions. For example, the United States with Saudi consent began transferring its Armed Forces to that country's territory. This transfer should be completed by the beginning of October, by when 150,000 U.S. soldiers will be massed along the borders with Kuwait and Iraq.

The international community has acted in accordance with the fundamental principle of the United Nations: Justice must be restored and the aggressor punished. The way to achieve that is by the strict observance of economic sanctions. Deprived of ties with the outside world, the Iraqi regime, according to this logic, will sooner or later back down. And the sanctions really are "working," even if only partially. For example, rationing was introduced for nine types of foodstuffs in Iraq this week.

To cut a long story short, there is an imminent prospect of the crisis becoming chronic—as with the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is obvious that such a development of events is not in the interests of either the Near East or the cause of world peace.

But all this is still only a minor problem, so to speak. Worse than that is the fact that the armed confrontation between Iraq and the U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia is threatening to develop into a bloody conflict. Iraq is not Grenada, nor is it Panama. It has a million-strong army which is well armed and has been through the crucible of the eight-year war against Iran. And it has at least as many reservists. The lives of the thousands of hostages detained by the Iraqi authorities will be placed in jeopardy. An eruption of international terrorism is highly likely: Iraq has links with quite a few "troublemakers," especially among the Palestinians and Lebanese. Therefore the threat of such a clash is daunting. Admittedly, both Iraq and the United States claim that they will not be first to pull the trigger. But in the tense atmosphere that has been created just one spark in the form of an armed incident could be enough to cause an explosion.

So is there a way out of the impasse? In my opinion, not all the opportunities for a political settlement of the conflict have yet been exploited. All that is necessary is to look at it not from a single standpoint but from various angles. It is necessary first to take into account the fact that the appearance of U.S. troops in the Gulf zone immediately turned the Iraqi president into a "hero of the struggle against imperialism" in the eyes of millions of Arabs. This, incidentally, is the main reason for the split in the Arab camp. The following must also be considered: The aggressor has already effectively been punished. Never again will the international community deal with the present regime in Baghdad as it did before the aggression, which in itself promises the regime very substantial material and political losses. And finally it should be borne in mind that Iraq can back down only if it "saves face."

Of course, this viewpoint is not a ready remedy for a settlement but rather food for further thought. So in any event the search for a political solution must be stepped up. Because there are no alternatives to it from the viewpoint of strengthening peace and international security and from that of humanitarian considerations.

Iranian Air Force Plane Lands in Azerbaijan

LD0409081790 Moscow TASS in English 0801 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Baku 4 September AZERINFORM-TASS—An Iranian Air Force plane crossed the border into the Soviet Union and landed at the airport of Nakhichevan, in Soviet Azerbaijan, at 12:36 last Sunday.

According to Azerbaijani KGB officials, a preliminary investigation established that all the four crew members are servicemen from an Iranian Air Force training centre.

The trespassing plane is a four-seated training craft.

The detained explained that poor weather conditions and visibility during the flight, as well as loss of radio contact with ground control, had led them to unwittingly violate Soviet air space.

Soviet authorities are continuing the investigation.

Lukyanov Receives Iranian Envoy for Talks

LD0509171790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, today received Naser Heirani-Nobari, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Moscow, at the latter's request. The ambassador passed on an invitation from Iri Karrubi, speaker of the Majlis (parliament) for Lukyanov to pay an official visit to Tehran, which was accepted with thanks. The date of the visit is to be agreed later.

During their talk they touched on issues concerning the crisis in the Persian Gulf and the necessity to seek ways for a political settlement of it was emphasized.

Anatoliy Lukyanov noted with satisfaction the progress in the Iran-Iraq settlement and voiced the hope that Iraq will extend its respect for the principles of international law to relations with Kuwait as well.

A number of issues of Soviet-Iranian relations were examined in their conversation.

Intelligence Cooperation With Iran Reviewed

NC0109103490 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] Iran's Intelligence Minister [title as heard] Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Fallahiyan attended a news conference in Tehran and discussed the various aspects of his ministry, which is in charge of the country's domestic and foreign security, and its activities. These activities included the fight against espionage, the smuggling of cultural and historic values, and steps against opposition movements. Our commentator writes:

One of the remarks by the Iranian minister which I found interesting in the report on the news conference was that he said that Iran's intelligence service has been able to (?uncover) espionage groups which were linked with the CIA through various methods—methods that even the KGB did not use. As an example, Fallahiyan referred to the dossier of a retired colonel, Khosrow Mas'udi, who had set up an espionage network in Iran and who was supplying the CIA with confidential information.

Our country's press sometimes reported the arrest of Soviet and foreign citizens by the KGB and stated that these people spied for the CIA. But I do not know if the Soviet spies used the special methods which Fallahiyan spoke about or not. However, safeguarding state security continues to rank high on the list of our priorities today too—today when the climate between the East and West is improving and at a time when our country's economic and international relations with the United States and other Western governments are improving.

Apparently this is becoming more and more [word indistinct] each day. Thus, the KGB and the CIA find the opportunity to study joint cooperation in the fight against international terrorism, drug smuggling, and so on.

I think that the Soviet public would not oppose a similar cooperation between the KGB and the Iranian Intelligence Ministry, especially when Iran's security network has information on methods the CIA is successfully using against the Soviet Union. The two sides may have been able to exchange experiences about the fight against the smuggling of historic and cultural values. This is something which is more pressing than ever before in our country. And who knows if this kind of smuggling is not carried out through the Soviet-Iranian border.

The era of openness gives rise to brave thoughts. But this era [words indistinct] vis-a-vis offices such as the Iranian Intelligence Ministry and the Soviet State Security Committee. Maybe Iran's Intelligence Ministry is operating under (?much better) conditions than the Soviet State Security Committee because the Soviet organ is under public pressure for supervision of some of its activities and for nonintervention by this organ in the social and private lives of citizens. These requests are sometimes irreconciliable and harsh in nature. This too is understandable. Before perestroyka or restructuring the State Security Committee was used repeatedly as a tool for suppression and for the violation of human rights. Soviet citizens believe that these activities have nothing in common with the defense of the country's security and only halt democratization and social growth. Meanwhile, as far as I know, Iran's democratic forces have the same views on some aspects of the Iranian Intelligence Ministry.

At any rate, the hunting down of opponents by Iran's suppressive organs lead to domestic and international protests.

Afghanistan's Najibullah Greets Gorbachev

LD0309222490 Moscow TASS in English 1942 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—President Najibullah of Afghanistan, who was flying over the Soviet Union on his way to Paris, sent a message to President Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the message, Najibullah expressed to the Soviet Government and all Soviet people his "cordial attachment to our long-standing friendship, based on the mutual interests of the peoples of both countries, which have been growing and consolidating day after day".

Afghanistan Sends Cigarette Consignments

First Consignment Arrives

PM0509082690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Report by L. Kushnarenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Medics are warning that smoking is dangerous. Despite this, governmental mismanagement has not contributed to the solution of this problem. The waiting lines in front of tobacconist kiosks are not getting any shorter. Night-time camp fires have even appeared in their vicinity. However, today there is good news for Muscovites. A consignment of 110,000 packets of cigarettes has arrived in Moscow by air from Kabul.

[Reporter] This has taken place on the direct orders of President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan. During his brief visit to Moscow he saw and did more for smokers than the leaders who draw pay for ensuring tobacco supplies in our country.

And border guards and pilots, people who have little to do with trade, ensured that the consignment was swiftly conveyed from Kabul to Moscow.

[D. Razmiar, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR, speaking in Russian] On the orders of the president one aircraft carrying cigarettes was dispatched without delay in a matter of days. I hope that such flights will continue.

[Reporter] I believe that this flight will be the first in a series of flights.

[Razmiar] Apart from cigarettes, our capital, our government, and our merchants are ready to help out Muscovites also in other spheres—food, fruit, and vegetables. We will discuss this in detail.

[Reporter] So will trade cooperation continue and expand?

[Razmiar] I hope that it will expand.

[Reporter] As you can see, fellow smokers, our tobacco problem is being resolved at the highest, presidential, level. I am afraid, though, that this will not remove it from the agenda. The highest grade cigarettes produced under license in Afghanistan have been sent. And the Moscow City Soviet must now decide where, when, and at what price these cigarettes will be sold to Muscovites. Concluding future contracts, trade organizations should take account of the needs of those who, for various reasons, do not smoke Kent, Marlboro, or Camel cigarettes.

Cigarettes Represent 'Gift'

PM0509094190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[By correspondent Viktor Litovkin from Moscow on the "Direct Line" rubric: "Kabul-Tashkent-Moscow Tobacco Airlift"]

[Text] A special border forces' aircraft landed at Sheremetyevo-2 on the evening of 30 August. It had on board a gift from Afghan President Najibullah for Soviet citizens—1.5 tonnes of cigarettes.

This is just the first part of the unusual gift. The Afghan president learned of the unexpected problem that had arisen in the powerful neighboring country while on vacation in the USSR and meeting with the leaders of our state. On returning home, he decided to give the multimillion-strong army of Soviet smokers some assistance. He gave the order to load four million choice Afghan cigarettes onto a special aircraft and deliver them to the USSR.

The first 200 cases from Kabul arrived in Tashkent on the morning of 30 August. They were received by the Soviet border guards and transferred to their own aircraft, which took off for Sheremetyevo-2.

Moscow smokers and visitors to the capital will certainly be grateful to the Afghan president for the unexpected gift. All that remains for me is to suggest that our foreign trade organizations were not exactly quick to solve the problem that had suddenly occurred. The Afghan market is very rich, despite the long civil war. Rich not only in cigarettes.

Russian Republic Officials Travel to Pakistan

Meet With Afghan Rebels

LD0409205490 Moscow TASS in English 1938 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—On instructions from Russian President Boris Yeltsin, a delegation from the Soviet public led by Russian people's delegate Iona Andronov has held talks in Pakistan.

During talks with Afghan rebels' political and military leaders, a preliminary agreement was reached to send a delegation to Moscow to meet Boris Yeltsin with the aim of arranging joint negotiations on the release of all Soviet prisoners of war.

The Russian Parliament's commission for the affairs of disabled people, war and labour veterans, and the social protection of servicemen and their dependents has begun preparations for talks with a delegation from Afghan rebels.

Discuss Soviet POW's

LD0509230590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2130 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] On the instruction of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman, a delegation of Soviet public, headed by Andronov, RSFSR people's deputy, has visited Pakistan. A preliminary agreement to send a delegation to Moscow to meet Yeltsin was reached in the course of negotiations with the political and military leaders of the mujahidin. Its aim is to conduct joint negotiations on freeing all Soviet prisoners of war. The committee of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet for the Affairs of the Disabled, War and Labor Veterans and the Social Protection of Servicemen and Their Families has begun preparations for talks with a delegation of the Afghan mujahidin.

Pakistan To Retain Hijackers Pending Investigation

LD0409081990 Moscow TASS in English 0715 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Legantsov]

[Text] Islamic September 4 TASS—The special anti-terrorism court in the Pakistani city of Karachi has (?decided) to remand the Soviet hijackers, who forced a Siberian airliner to fly there last month, in custody until September 23, the newspaper DAWN reports.

Explaining its decision, the court referred to the need for the Pakistani Federal Bureau of Investigation to complete a releavant investigation.

The issue of whether to extradite the criminals to the Soviet Union will be decided later by the Pakistani Government.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Third Round of Angola Talks Begins in Portugal

PM0509152890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent V. Tyurkin: "Round Three Begins..."]

[Text] Luanda, 29 Aug—So, after many days of delays and holdups, the third round of direct talks between the Angolan government and the opposition group UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has begun. It is to last several days. As before, the consultations are being held in strict secrecy in Portugal, which has taken on the mission of mediator.

Last year's Gbadolite accord on a cease-fire—achieved with the participation of Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko—was broken long ago, and the use of Zaire's territory by UNITA and the CIA for the purpose of subversive anti-Angolan activity makes this neighboring country a doubtful partner in the search for peace.

Judging by the number of their meetings with representatives of both the conflicting sides, top officials in the Portuguese administration have apparently made a serious decision to achieve a breakthrough in the protracted and, alas, hitherto fruitless talks. Both Prime Minister Cavaco Silva and the foreign minister underline the decisive significance of this meeting for the successful outcome of the whole reconciliation process. If, as in June, UNITA walks out on the negotiations on some pretext, the consequences could be highly lamentable.

Demonstrating political flexibility and goodwill, the Angolan leadership has made mutually acceptable compromises at all the previous stages. Suffice it to say that, under a special law, all members of UNITA are guaranteed full restoration of their rights and the possibility to hold any office, even the highest, in the state apparatus, the army, the police, and social organizations.

Moreover, work is being done to make the appropriate changes to the constitution. Liberal economic reforms are planned which take account of the opposing side's demands.

It seems that no fundamental differences remain. It is now just a question of time and personal pride.

J. Savimbi, for example, the leader of the antigovernment group, apparently wants "everything at once." First and foremost—immediate official recognition of UNITA as a legal political party with full rights. But Luanda points to the impossibility of this. The reasons are obvious, as they say. First, this would conflict with the existing "one-party" constitution, which would take time to amend. Second, at present UNITA is more like a large military-guerrilla unit than a political organization.

One thing is clear from the brief, fragmentary reports on the progress of the talks: The government delegation has submitted a clear, precise plan for a return to peace, which, as a whole, takes account of the preparatory work done with the help of the mediators. According to the Angolan capital, the first task is to sign a cease-fire agreement and establish a mechanism for monitoring its observance with the participation of "neutral countries." This would make it possible to implement all the coordinated measures needed to restore Angola to normal life—in a calm, businesslike atmosphere.

The immediate future will show whether common sense will prevail and whether the 15-year war will be ended.

Mozambique Delegation Ends Visit With CPSU

PM2908110790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for party ties between the CPSU and the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo], a Frelimo party delegation headed by Central Committee member A. Januario visited our country

16-28 August where it acquainted itself with the CPSU's activity in conditions of perestroyka.

The Mozambican visitors had conversations at CPSU Central Committee departments and visited the Republic of Moldova.

Commentary Views South African Party Congress

MB3108104590 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Commentary by Aleksandr Fedorov—read by announcer]

[Text] On 30 August, the congress of the ruling South African party, the Nationalist [as heard] Party, got underway in Durban. Aleksandr Fedorov comments:

I would not be the least surprised to learn that the Orange River began to flow backwards. Anything is possible in our time of ecological shocks [words indistinct] difficult to believe that the National Party will depart from the principles proclaimed by its founding fathers. Established in 1913, throughout its history it has been the main stronghold of the whites. After coming to power in 1948, it proclaimed apartheid as the official policy of the government.

Today its leaders are getting ready to change the elite party for whites only, to a broad, nonracist front. Without any doubt, this will be one of the main topics at the Durban congress.

South African President Frederik de Klerk, speaking on cable TV, paid special attention to the Nationalist plans. He came to two conclusions. With the first reforms to eliminate apartheid, South Africa arrived on the threshold of its historical development, and the country can no longer stand in one and the same place. Consequently, it is necessary to create a ruling party attractive not only to whites, but to an alliance of all political forces. To sum this up, it is being proposed that the Nationalist policy has ceased to be racist and therefore there is no obstacle for the blacks to become members of the Nationalist Party.

This sounds believable and logical. In my opinion, Aleksandr Fedorov continues, there is more hope than reality in coming to similar conclusions. First of all, the Africans who are being invited to join the party cannot but be put on their guard by the statement that the new constitution will be put up for discussion by the whites only. This creates quite a situation: the people who join the ranks of the ruling party, will all the same not be full members. Why then all this fuss over the reorganization of the Nationalist Party? It turns out that it will only benefit the figureheads, especially at a time when so many people are leaving the party.

The call to join the Nationalist Party is largely an advertising action. This is evident from the demand Mr. De Klerk has made to ensure ethnic minority groups extraordinary rights. The demand refers mainly to the white race. If the political [word indistinct] parliament where privileges are preserved, [break in recording] the Boers will continue to enjoy privileges when questions are solved within the framework of the Nationalist Party.

Such inconsistency will hardly encourage the Africans to accept the invitation of the Nationalists to join their party. The plan of the leaders of this party will definitely draw criticism from the right and the left. The reactionary parties of the whites will accuse Mr. De Klerk of betraying the interests of the Afrikaners. This has already taken place, for example, at the time of the congresses of the branches of the Conservative Party in the Transvaal, and the reorganization of the Nationalist Party. The radical blacks will be critical of the Nationalists after the conference in Durban, for making another attempt to extend the period of the existing apartheid system with the help of halfhearted reforms and appeals.

If you had to say what is behind the concept of making the Nationalist Party nonracist: the differences within this party have probably become so great that Mr. De Klerk is trying to figure out who is who [words indistinct] opinion polls show that, at forthcoming free elections, the desegregated Nationalist Party may win at least 20 percent of the votes of African electors. Whatever the case might be, it is definite that The Nationalist Party congress, being held in Durban on 30 and 31 August, will be the most heated in the entire history of the party.

East Europe

Asylum Reportedly Granted to GDR Spies

AU0509132890 Hamburg BILD in German 5 Sep 90 pp 1,4

[Unattributed report: "Moscow Shows Pity: Asylum for German Traitors"]

[Text] The Soviets want to grant asylum to former top agents of the GDR State Security Service [Stasi] who are threatened with imprisonment after 3 October, BILD learned from well-informed sources. Ex-Stasi General Markus Wolf, the chief spy of the GDR, might make use of this opportunity. Wolf could go to Moscow until one day the arrest warrant for him is rescinded in Germany. He has repeatedly stressed that he wants to stay in the GDR.

A group of about 50 leading Stasi officers who for decades did important espionage work for the Soviet secret service—the KGB—are preparing their inconspicuous move to the Moscow headquarters.

Hans-Joachim Tiedge, former spy in the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, has already evaded his imminent arrest. According to the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the former senior official of the counterintelligence service has defected to the Soviet Union. Tiedge is reportedly looking for interesting espionage offers from the intelligence services of Syria, Libya, and Iran.

Sonja Lueneburg, who spied as an assistant of then Economics Minister Bangemann, is said to have "sidestepped" to the Soviet Union. The agent worked for the Soviet KGB and defected to the GDR in 1985. Her real name is not known because when she infiltrated into Bonn from the East she was already legend.

Three more women who were able to escape to the GDR at the last moment after their discovery are on the list of wanted spies:

Ursel Lorenzen, NATO chief secretary in Brussels, brought suitcases full of secret documents on Western defense and foreign policy to Switzerland. She defected in 1979.

Inge Goliath, secretary of the late Bundestag Deputy Marx, betrayed secret plans on the FRG Government's foreign policy. She defected in 1979.

In the case of Christl Broszey, former secretary of Professor Kurt Biedenkopf, the judiciary plans to examine whether the limitation has to be rescinded. She also defected in 1979.

Romanian Envoy Notes Post-Ceausescu Changes

PM0409151790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Sep 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent Major M. Pogorelyy: "Ambassadorial Press Conference"]

[Text] Vasile Sandru, Romanian ambassador to the USSR, has given a news conference in Moscow. The ambassador described the successes achieved in democratizing Romania in the eight months since the revolution: The country has basically overcome the consequences of the totalitarian regime, and the formation of a democratic multiparty system, within which around 100 political parties and organizations function today, is continuing.

At the same time the difficulties experienced by Romania today are due to a considerable extent to the state of its economy. For example, in the first seven months of the current year labor productivity in industry fell by 20-25 percent compared with last year.

Vasile Sandru also answered numerous questions from journalists. Your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, for example, asked him to comment on a recent statement by S. Brucan and N. Militaru in the newspaper ADEVARUL that opposition to the Ceausescu regime was ripening in the Romanian Army long before the 1989 revolution and that the aforementioned plus former defense minister I. Ionita were in at the inception of the military coup being prepared. Sandru replied that all questions relating to last December's events are being carefully looked into by a special parliamentary commission which is studying not just statements by individual "conspirators" but also documents and the testimony of numerous witnesses.

Yanayev Receives Romanian Dignitaries

PM0509141890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] N.S. Dumitru, the well-known political scientist, parliamentary deputy, and first deputy chairman of the Romanian National Salvation Front, paid an unofficial visit to Moscow 1-4 September. He had conversations with G.I. Yanayev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.A. Kuptsov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.A. Ananyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee; and R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and chairman of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Society.

Reinstatement of Romanian Language Celebrated

AU3108155090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Today Kishinev marked the first anniversary since the reinstatement of the Romanian language as a state language in Soviet Moldavia. More than 100,000 citizens between the rivers Nistru and Prut attended—within the framework of this national holiday entitled, Our Language—the celebrations devoted to the restoration and homage to Stefan-cel-Mare's [Romanian ruler] statue.

This solemn event was honored with the presence of Mr. Mircea Snegur, president of the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Moldavia, and the prime minister of the republic, Mr. Mircea Drug.

On behalf of Romania, representatives of cultural activities of Romanians everywhere, a delegation of the mayoralty of the Romanian capital led by Mr. Stefan Ciurel, and a group of Romania priests headed by His Holy Highness Metropolitan of Moldavia and Bukovina, Daniel Ciobota, were present in Kishinev.

Bulgaria Denies Presence of Nuclear Warheads

PM0509134190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS-PRAVDA report under the rubric "From Stream of News"]

[Text] Bulgaria, 3 Sep—In connection with information emanating from Western sources about the "presence of nuclear warheads in Bulgaria," the People's Republic of Bulgaria Ministry of National Defense has stated that Bulgaria does not have and never has had nuclear warheads. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has operational-tactical missile launchers at its disposal, including 80 SS-23 units with an operating radius of 500 km. They were supplied by the USSR in 1986, are Bulgarian

property, and do not fall under the jurisdiction of the Treaty on the Eliminaion of Intermediate-Range Missiles.

Bulgarian Leader To Form New Cabinet

90P50081 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Cooperation is Necessary"]

[Text] SOFIA, 31. (TASS). The new Bulgarian Government will be able to count on success only if it enjoys broad public support, Andrey Lukanov told a TASS correspondent. Parliament tasked Lukanov to draft a proposal on a new cabinet.

The situation in the country, in his opinion, is such that neither the Bulgarian Socialist Party nor its opponents can independently cope with the tasks facing the country, stemming first of all from the economic crisis. Talking about the position of the Union of Democratic Forces, which does not wish to enter a coalition with the Socialists, Lukanov expressed the opinion that the opposition is both trying to save face as well as its option to criticize the government. We need pluralism, open debate, and an alternative character for discussing important decisions. At the same time, Lukanov said, perhaps we do not need a coalition in the classic sense, all the more since in Bulgaria it is difficult to speak about an opposition and a ruling party in the direct meaning. We are talking rather about a partnership for resolving supra-party tasks, concerning the future of each Bulgarian.

Polish Case for Compensation Rebutted

PM0509155990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by A. Drabkin: "Polish Accounting; What the 'Balcerowicz Plan' Has Given the Country"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Moscow—[passage omitted] I the occasion in Warsaw recently to talk to prominent Polish economists, journalists who write on reform, and people usually referred to as "Joe public." The picture I received is complex. [passage omitted]

The opinions of highly authoritative people are now appearing in the Polish mass media, the essence of which can be summed up as follows: The Soviet Union's actions are making Poland's difficulties worse. Let us try to take a closer look at some statements of this kind in an unbiased fashion and in the spirit of glasnost.

Poland is now placing noticeable emphasis on the problem of transferring to world prices and convertible currency in transactions with the Soviet Union. It points out that Poland will make an annual loss of $1.2-1.5 billion in the process. It proposes dividing the damage in half so that Poland bears only half of the losses and the Soviet Union retains only half of the windfall.

Let me remind you of the history behind the problem. In 1963, the heads of government of the CEMA countries (including the Soviet Union and Poland) approved an agreement on multilateral transactions in transfer rubles. This system was developed further at an equally high level in Warsaw in 1970.

The Soviet Union now feels that it would be advisable for it to withdraw from this agreement. The CEMA statute gives every country belonging to this organization the right to decide whether it will participate or not in any collective agreement. There is just one condition: It must notify the other members of its decision six months before it starts to put that decision into effect.

Strictly abiding by the international documents, the Soviet Union informed its partners of its position in good time. Which, incidentally, has frequently been done by other countries in other cases. The CEMA statute does not provide for any sanctions being taken against a country that says it is not interested in taking part in a collective CEMA agreement: The decision of every state is sovereign. However, essentially it is now being suggested that we impose economic sanctions against ourselves for withdrawing from the agreement on a collective CEMA currency. These ideas sound strange, you must admit. Particularly if you recall that a number of representatives of Polish economic thought have long repeated that transactions in transfer rubles were by no means the best method of economic operations. But now that the Soviet Union has decided to organize its economic ties in line with general world norms—in other words, has essentially adopted ideas put forward by Polish specialists, among others—the reaction in Warsaw is not very enthusiastic, to put it mildly.

Economic innovations in Poland are also giving rise to a specific view on history. One popular theory, for example, is that the Soviet Union must pay compensation "for forced Polish labor during World War II on Soviet territory." We could go just as far back in mutual recriminations if we wanted to: We could calculate just how much the adventures of the False Dmitriy [17th century pretender] and his Polish patrons cost Russia, for example.

But would it not be better to concentrate on the realities of the present? [passage omitted]

Polish Leader on Dismantling of Monuments

90P50082 Moscow VETERAN in Russian No 36, 3-9 Sep 90 p 3

[Introduction and letter from Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski in reply to protest on dismantling of monument to Soviet soldiers in the city of Gdynia: "Answer to a Protest"]

[Text] At the end of July the chairman of the All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces, Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov, sent a decisive protest in the name of the All-Union Council

of Veterans to President of the Polish Republic Wojchich Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Chairman of the Main Administration of the Council of Veterans and Former Political Prisoners Josef Kaminski. The protest concerned the 22 July dismantling of the monument to the Soviet soldier-liberators in the city of Gdynia, carried out according to the decision of the local city council.

"We consider this," the statement said, "to be an insult to the blessed memory of the 600,000 Soviet soldiers and partisans who fell in battles on the territory of Poland, along with thousands of Polish soldiers, officers, and members of the Resistance...Such actions harm the friendship between our countries and people, and the military comradeship, sealed in blood during the joint struggle against facism."

President of the Republic of Poland Wojciech Jaruzelski has sent a reply to this protest.

To the Chairman of the All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces, Marshal of the Soviet Union Nikolay Vasilyevich Ogarkov.

I received the protest from the All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces against the dismantling of the monument to the Soviet soldier-liberators. I express my indignation and sorrow in regard to this fact, which is contrary to the traditions and culture of our people.

Broad circles of Polish society remember with respect the Soviet soldiers who died in battle liberating our country from the yoke of Hitlerite fascism. The incidents of vandalism are the actions of a few fanatics and opportunists. They do not represent the voice of the people. Evidence of this is the condition of the military cemetaries, and the thoughtful care given to them by the authorities and Polish society, including school children.

In order to prevent future incidents of an irresponsible attitude toward the monuments of Soviet soldiers, I have adopted the necessary measures. In particular, I raised this issue at the recent session of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense, which was carried by the press. I sent your letter to the leadership of the Polish government and parliament, as well as to the Council of Veterans and the Supreme Council for Safeguarding Monuments of Struggle and Martyrdom. As I have learned, this was regarded with great seriousness.

Believing in the inviolable friendship between our peoples, I testify to our respect for the Soviet veterans of World War II. I send my regards to all our comrades in arms. I send a heartfelt greeting to you, dear Nikolay Vasilyevich.

(Signed) Wojciech Jaruzelski
President of the Republic of Poland
Warsaw
[Dated] 10 August 1990.

Poland Holds 'Solidarity' Anniversary Meeting

PM0409145490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent L. Toporkov: "'Solidarity': 10 Years On"]

[Text] Warsaw—"Only some of the August demands have been met. The struggle against the communist system is now behind us, we still have to build democracy. This means above all embarking on free elections." That was what Lech Walesa, probably the main hero of the celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of the August worker protests of 1980 and the creation of the "Solidarity" independent trade union, said at a Gdansk news conference.

The first day of the festivities was given over to a meeting at the Gdansk Shipyard between Prime Minister T. Mazowiecki and shipbuilders and port workers. It cannot be said to have been particularly warm. You got the feeling that there is no great sympathy for the premier in "Walesa's old stamping ground." This is clearly to be explained by the "Solidarity" chairman's jealous attitude toward T. Mazowiecki, who is highly popular in Poland. Moreover, the premier could be his rival in the expected battle for the presidency.

For this reason the shipyard meeting was full of accusations against the government. There were claims that in the year of its existence it has done nothing to improve people's lives, that it is not so different from the previous government, and that apathy reigns in society. It was not hard for the premier to answer these attacks, since the government's achievements are obvious to all. Thanks to the economic reform the inflationary process has been halted—inside a year!—the zloty has stabilized and reached the level of internal convertibility, and the market has become quite different, even though prices are still high and unemployment is not falling. As for apathy, T. Mazowiecki noted in his speech that "Solidarity"—as a Polish social movement—bears its share of responsibility for this state of mind. Society needs consolidation, not a "free for all."

The festivities centered on a well-attended outdoor mass held at the shipyard gates, where there is a monument to dead shipbuilders. Attending the mass were T. Mazowiecki, L. Walesa, other officials, and M. Jagielski, the former vice premier who signed the well-known August agreement in Gdansk in 1980.

The same day there was a meeting of the participants in the 1980 August events. Addressing it, L. Walesa said that the revolution is not over. New times, however, call for new colors. We should create a new national life for Poland, he noted. A meeting between T. Mazowiecki and L. Walesa was held at the residence of the bishop of Gdansk. The details of it have not been divulged as yet, but they can be guessed at. As T. Mazowiecki later put it: "For the sake of what united us that August I would like us to be political opponents but not enemies, so as not to

cross the line beyond which hostility could turn dangerous and result in a splitting of the people."

Yanayev Receives Polish Party Secretary-General

LD0409192790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On 3 September there was a meeting between Comrade Yanayev and Miller, secretary-general of the Central Executive Committee of Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland, who was in the Soviet Union on vacation. Questions about the activity of both parties in conditions of the broad democratization of political life in the two countries were discussed. Mutual interest in the qualitative development of bilateral interparty ties was stressed.

Yugoslavian Republic's Multiparty Dispute Viewed

PM0509152390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent Ye. Fadeyev under the rubric "East Europe: Topic of the Day": "Registered and... Issued an Ultimatum"]

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Sep—"Serbia Is Formally a Multiparty Power," "Serbia's Interests Are Paramount," "Swimming in Multiparty Waters"—these are just a few of the headlines in Belgrade newspapers.

After 49 years there is once more a multiparty system in Yugoslavia's largest republic.

Representatives of 15 political parties have just been handed notice of their official registration and all have been given the "green light" to continue their activities in the future. Only one party was not entered in the register—the Serbian Movement of Chetniks. By reason of, as press representatives were told, its particularly nationalist program and name, which insult the memory and norms of public morality. Let me recall that in the war years Chetnik detachments supported fascism on the occupiers' side.

I will name some of the registered parties which have declared their readiness to fight for power in the republic's first multiparty elections, to be held before the end of this year. The Socialist Party of Serbia—the former League of Communists. The People's Radical Party, the Democratic Party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, and the League of All Serbs of the World. The Workers' Party of Yugoslavia, the Peasant Party, and the youngest party which has just been formed—the New Communist Movement of Yugoslavia, etc. In this way the republic, which in the opinion of many was the most zealous upholder of the one-party system to the last moment, has demonstrated that the winds of pluralism are no stranger to it too.

But... immediately after the registration documents were handed over, leaders of the six leading opposition parties met with representatives of the republic's parliament and expressed criticisms of the draft law on multiparty elections. Noting that this document had been drafted without the opposition's participation, they demanded that the election campaign continue for at least three months and that all the mass media be open to any party. Otherwise the opposition parties will boycott the republic elections and will hold a rally of their supporters 4 September in Belgrade.

West Europe

Soviet Tourists Appeal for Asylum in Finland

LD0509225390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1622 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Voytto Leskinen]

[Text] Helsinki, 5 Sep (TASS)—Approximately 70 Soviet citizens who are at the present time at the reception points of the Finnish Red Cross Society for refugees have appealed to the Finnish authorities to grant them political asylum.

After departing on tourist visas for Sweden via Finland, this Group of USSR citizens first requested political asylum in Stockholm, the newspaper HELSINGIN SANOMAT reports. The Swedish authorities, however, immediately returned them to the country from where they had arrived in Sweden—that is, Finland. Such a procedure is envisaged by the agreement existing between the northern countries on the return of refugees. Last year this agreement was already applied to 20 Soviet tourists who also travelled from Finland into Sweden and who tried to gain asylum there.

As stated by Risto Veijalainen, head of the Finnish center for the affairs of foreigners, the issue of granting political asylum to Soviet citizens is being examined in Finland under the same procedure as the applications of citizens of other states. "Up until now no citizen of the USSR who has requested political asylum in Finland has a received a positive reply since there are no grounds for that," R. Veijalainen said.

Finland Refuses To Dock Nuclear Vessel

PM0509120990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by A. Khramtsov: "Where Will the 'Vaygach' Go?"]

[Text] Murmansk—According to the TV program "120 Minutes" there has been a report that the Finnish authorities have allegedly banned the Soviet nuclear icebreaker "Vaygach" from docking at one of that country's ports. The reason given was incompatibility with the requirements of radiation safety.

This report has produced concern among the residents of Murmansk, where a whole family of nuclear-powered vessels is "registered." How can it be, people are asking? If the Finns, who built the icebreaker at their own shipyard, do not trust their fellow-citizens' security when it comes to the powerplant on the "Vaygach," aren't we consequently even more in danger from the radiation threat?

The explanation is quite simple. As journalists were informed by A. Dronchenko, chief of the Murmansk Steamship Company's Nuclear Fleet Operations and Overhaul Administration, the nuclear icebreaker "Vaygach" was to have berthed at a Finnish shipyard to correct faults in the ship's engine room. Under the warranty commitments the firm which built the icebreaker is obliged to correct all manufacturing faults discovered during operation. The steamship company appealed to the Finnish Government for permission for the "Vaygach" to enter the necessary port. And with its reactor shut down for complete safety. The Finnish side, as stipulated by the regulations, received all the necessary documents and was given dates for the visit. The steamship company received the permission. The level of accident and damage insurance—which is also established practice—remained to be agreed. The Finnish side proposed a maximum amount of 550 million markkas. The steamship company's leaders considered the insurance conditions unacceptable and withdrew their request for docking permission.

So where will the "Vaygach" go? Between 3-5 September it will dock at a northern Norwegian port—mutual agreement on this was reached without difficulty between the Soviet and Norwegian sides.

Yanayev Meets Finnish Communist Party Aide

PM0409160590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] On 31 August a meeting was held between G.I. Yanayev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and E.-J. Tennila, chairman of the Communist Party of Finland (Unity), who is vacationing in the Soviet Union.

Questions of interparty relations and topical problems of the world situation were discussed during their conversation.

Trial of Soviet Hijacker Opens in Sweden

PM0509081290 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA-TASS report under the general heading "From the Flow of News": "Sweden"]

[Text] The trial of Mikhail Mokretsov, the hijacker of a Soviet airliner, has opened in the law court of Sollentuna, a suburb of Stockholm. He is accused of hijacking an aircraft with aggravating circumstances. As the defendant stated at the hearings, he planned this action carefully. He justified his action by the fact that he could not leave the Soviet Union by legal means. By his actions, senior prosecutor Birgit Thunved believes, the hijacker put the lives of 171 passengers and seven crew members in serious danger. Such a crime must be classed as serious. The prosecutor requested that the offender be sentenced to four years' imprisonment. When he has served his sentence, Mokretsov is to be deported from Sweden with no right to enter the country for 10 years.

Statement Issued on Death of Swedish Diplomat

LD0409212190 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—A statement by the Information Directorate of the USSR Interior Ministry has been released here today, reading as follows.

In accordance with an earlier agreement, specialists from Sweden's State Criminological Technical Laboratory visited Moscow from August 22-25. They participated in a graphological expert examination, at the National Forensic Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of Justice, of a report on the death in 1947 of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg, signed by former Lubyanka prison sanitary service chief Smoltsov, and a handwritten questionnaire and a curriculum vitae filled in by Smoltsov. The documents had been found in the USSR KGB archives for the purpose. Concurrently, the document was subjected to an investigation with the help of technical criminological means.

The experts recognised that the report was written by Smoltsov. All peculiarities that formed the basis of the conclusion were discussed by Soviet and Swedish specialists and the Swedish representatives expressed their agreement with the conclusion.

As regards the technical criminological investigation, it showed that the materials used in writing—the ink, the pencil and the paper—were consistent with the date indicated in Smoltsov's report. In this way it was proven that the report could have been written on the date indicated.

On August 26, members of an international working group investigating the Wallenberg affair, arrived in Moscow to examine the files of Vladimir Prison No. 2, in which Wallenberg was allegedly held in the fifties. Specialists were accorded the opportunity to accomplish their task. Expert group members met representatives of the USSR Interior Ministry, the USSR Foreign Ministry, the USSR KGB and the USSR Procurator-General's Office. The group expressed satisfaction with their stay in Vladimir.

No indication of Wallenberg's presence in Vladimir prison No. 2 were found in the files.

The conclusions, drawn as a result of two expert examinations of Wallenberg-related documents and the examination of the files of the Vladimir prison, confirm that the allegations that Raoul Wallenberg was alive after 1947 are not consistent with reality.

Interparliamentary Talks Held With Sweden

LD0309164290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 3 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" Newscast]

[Text] Comrade Nishanov today received a delegation of the Swedish Riksdag, which is in our country on an official visit. Satisfaction was expressed with the development of interparliamentary ties and the mutual despire for their further expansion and deepening was stressed.

Deputy Minister Interviewed on UK Air Show

PM0609152790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent A. Lyutyy: "Steel Wings of the Earth. Farnborough-90 Air Show Has Opened"]

[Excerpt] London—[passage omitted] Here is what V.T. Ivanov, USSR deputy minister of the aviation industry and head of our delegation at Farnborough, told me:

[Ivanov] We are hoping to show the British and world public new passenger, military, and sports aircraft from the USSR. We have brought the An-225, the world's biggest transport liner, with a capacity of 250 tonnes. Aircraft of this type are now in demand in the world. The junior colleague of this aircraft—the An-124, with a capacity of 150 tonnes—has already aroused considerable interest. Single-seater and twin-seater combat trainer versions of the MiG-29 and Su-27 have flown to Farnborough. We have also brought the Su-26M, a good sports aircraft, along with Natasha Sergeyeva, our world champion. She has no peer as a flier.

[Lyutyy] In that case do profitable contracts await us?

[Ivanov] As yet I am not sure that we will necessarily sign contracts here. But we will make headway in cooperation. We hope that passenger aircraft like the Tu-204, Il-114, and Il-96M will meet with demand not only among our traditional partners, but also in all sorts of world countries. They are a new generation of aircraft meeting the highest technological demands. We are planning to begin passenger flights using the Tu-204 and Il-96M by the end of next year.

[Lyutyy] What do you see as the main problem of Soviet civil aviation?

[Ivanov] We have been late to develop and introduce highly economical engines. Time was wasted. Now we are trying to make up for lost time. I could say the same about certain types of on-board equipment.

[Lyutyy] But surely these problems can be solved in cooperation with the West?

[Ivanov] Yes, Rolls-Royce, Pratt and Whitney, and General Electric are offering us engines. I think that during the initial stage, until we have finished developing our own, we will install them on the new Soviet aircraft. After all, any Western aircraft is sold with two or three engine options. The customer chooses. So we want to offer the Tu-204 and Il-96M with three types of engine. We will also install foreign navigational equipment.

Latin America & Caribbean

Chile's Deputy Foreign Minister Arrives for Talks

Views Cooperation With USSR

LD0309141690 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS political news analyst Gennadiy Petrov]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—The first official Chilean government delegation to visit the USSR since diplomatic relations were broken off in 1973 arrived in Moscow on Sunday. Chilean Deputy Foreign Minister Edmundo Vargas Carreno is heading the delegation which includes also the director of the international economic relations agency of the Chilean Foreign Ministry Augusto Aninat and a group of businessmen.

"We attach much importance to the restoration and development of friendly relations with the Soviet Union—commercial, economic, political and cultural. In a word, it is very important to establish mutually advantageous cooperation in every area," Vargas said.

"There is virtually no trade between Chile and the Soviet Union at present, although both countries have good potentials for trade," Vargas said. "Some Soviet goods reach Chile though,—via third countries. For instance, Lada cars are quite popular in Chile...."

"Chile is also undergoing transformations at present. The Chilean people achieved freedom and democracy and we are proud of this. We admire the present democratic transformations in the Soviet Union and Mikhail Gorbachev's policy. Gorbachev is very popular with Chileans."

Asked about Chile's attitude to the dramatic events in the Gulf, Vargas said that Chile condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. He said that Chile supports the U.N. Security Council resolution on this problem. "We are for undelayed settlement of the crisis which threatens peace in the region," he said.

Trade Relations To Be Studied

PY0509022490 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2300 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Chilean Foreign Relations Under Secretary Edmundo Vargas has started his official activities in the Soviet Union. Vargas has met with representatives of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

During the meeting a decision was made to create a work group to study reestablishment of a trade agreement between the two countries and the possibility of creating a mixed commission for economic and social cooperation. A study will also be made on having a Soviet trade delegation visit Chile this year.

Vargas emphasized the importance of the reestablishment of solid relations with the Soviet Union. The Chilean delegation will leave for Poland on 5 September; it will then visit Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Visit Aims To Restore Ties

LD0509094990 Moscow TASS in English 0902 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The complete restoration of Soviet-Chilean ties is the aim of the visit to the USSR of a Chilean Government delgation led by Deputy Foreign Minister Edmundo Vargas.

The delegation, the first visit to the USSR since diplomatic relations between the two countries were restored on March 11, 1990, arrived here on Sunday [2 September].

The delegation met Presidential Council member Yevgeniy Primakov, Soviet Deputy Foreign Ministers Viktor Komplektov and Ernest Obminskiy. The sides discussed efforts to strengthen the United Nations, protect the environment and boost cooperation in the Pacific region and in Antartica.

The sides emphasised the importance of increasing Soviet-Chilean cooperation in the quest for ways to solve problems affecting peace and international security. They voiced concern over the sitaution in the Gulf and underlined the need for its stabilisation as soon as possible.

The delegations reaffirmed the mutual desire to develop top level dialogue and create a mechanism of political consultations between the two countries' foreign ministries and the exchange of views on items on the agenda of the forthcoming U.N. General Assembly session.

The sides called for intensifying trade, economic, scientific-technical and cultural ties and developing cooperation in training diplomatic personnel.

They reached an understanding on an agreement to coordinate efforts to combat the drugs trade.

Vargas conferred with Soviet Deputy Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Gayrut Rakhimbayev and First Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Vladimir Golanov.

They reached agreement to set up a working group to study the possible resumption of the Soviet-Chilean trade agreement, forming a mixed commission on trade and economic cooperation and sending a soviet trade delegation to Chile this year.

At Tuesday's [4 September] news conference here, Vargas praised the results of the visit. He expressed confidence that Soviet-Chilean ties would be successfully developing for the benefit of the two countries' peoples.

Vargas Interviewed on Visit

PY0509211890 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0200 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Interview with Chilean Foreign Under Secretary Edmundo Vargas, 'at the end of his visit to the Soviet Union,' by Vladimir Yevstigneyev—place not given]

[Text] [Yevstigneyev] Mr. Undersecretary: You met with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Komplektov and with Presidential Council member Yevgeniy Primakov. I would like to know your ideas, your evaluation of this visit, of the talks you held with both Komplektov and Primakov.

[Vargas] Not only did I have the honor of being received by Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Komplektov and by presidential adviser Yevgeniy Primakov—who is very close to President Gorbachev—but I also held very successful talks this morning with the Soviet deputy minister of foreign economic relations.

As far as I am concerned the most significant talks were, of course, the ones I held with Mr. Komplektov and Mr. Primakov. During these talks, we emphasized our mutual interest in maintaining normal relations, which were interrupted for 16 years. One of the first decisions made by President Aylwin on the day of his inauguration on 11 March, was to reestablish relations with the Soviet Union. My visit is designed to convey our interest in maintaining normal relations with the Soviet Union.

As we stated today, we are interested in establishing a system of consultations to discuss topics of common interest that are included in the agenda for general [word indistinct] or matters pertaining to world peace. We have discovered that we agree in many areas. The Soviet Union and Chile uphold similar values, and both countries consider International Law as the pattern to be followed. We respect international treaties and other international commitments. We respect each people's right to self-determination. We respect the principle of nonintervention in the domestic affairs of other states, and we disapprove of the use of force in international relations. These are the values and principles on which our foreign policies are based.

We have also ascertained that we share a common interest in strengthening the role of the United Nations, that is, its essential role of promoting international peace and security.

They had the courtesy of briefing me on the Soviet policy; on the agreements they are reaching with the United States on disarmament and on the ban on the use of chemical weapons. We of course welcome this decision with great satisfaction.

We have also noted that there is fertile ground for intensifying our bilateral relations. We attach great significance to our bilateral relations with the Soviet Union in the area of trade, economy, and culture. We specifically discussed certain cultural projects, including our mutual cooperation in the scientific and technological fields and the struggle that both Chile and the Soviet Union are waging against drugs. One specific conclusion of my first visit to the Soviet Union is that we will sign an agreement to fight drugs. Both Chile and the Soviet Union have entered in similar agreements with other countries. Thus, it is policy of Presidents Gorbachev and Aylwin to use every means to fight the scourge of drugs.

In sum, we are studying very important agreements and there are also promising prospects for commercial and economic activities. Our economic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union have to date been virtually nonexistent. I believe this is the time to resume mutually beneficial trade with the Soviet Union.

[Yevstigneyev] Was the possibility of supplying Soviet oil to Chile a topic of discussion with Viktor Komplektov, considering that Chile is largely dependent on oil supplies from Persian Gulf countries, which have been affected by the recent crisis?

[Vargas] No. We did not touch on this topic because that was not the purpose of our visit. This topic is being handled in Santiago by the appropriate officials. I have not received instructions to this effect.

[Yevstigneyev] For the past 15 years you have held a very important post on the OAS Human Rights Commission. I would like to hear your opinion and your ideas about the status of human rights under a democratic government.

[Vargas] I believe there has been a major breakthrough in human rights in Latin America in general, primarily because of the advent of democracy. There has been a major change. The important point is that our countries have earned democracy, it was not given to us as a concession. We have earned democracy for ourselves. We should be able to preserve it, to maintain, to consolidate it, and to strengthen it.

[Yevstigneyev] Thank you very much.

CPSU Greets Mexican Institutional Party Assembly

PM0409152390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Greetings message from CPSU Central Committee Secretariat to 14th National Assembly of Mexican Institutional Revolutionary Party]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat warmly greets the delegates to the 14th National Assembly of the Institutional Revolutionary Party of Mexico.

The CPSU advocates the unity of efforts of all members of the international community in the solution of the tasks facing mankind, such as strengthening peace and security, preventing a nuclear and ecological catastrophe, and overcoming hunger, poverty, drug addiction, terrorism, and great disproportions in the development of various parts of the earth. Our party is open to collaboration with all organizations and movements that adhere to the positions of democracy, humanism, and progress. The new political thinking is aimed both at our own country and the world around us.

We value the respect and understanding shown by your party toward the CPSU's perestroyka line. We hope that the development of ties between the CPSU and the Institutional Revolutionary Party will serve to strengthen the traditional friendship that connects the peoples of the USSR and Mexico.

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet Panel Approves Position on Gulf

PM0309094390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by parliamentary correspondent A. Sychev: "Committee Approves Government's Position"]

[Text] The parliamentary recess is over. For the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee, the start of work coincided with a number of problems brooking no delay.

Of course, the first subject of discussion was the situation in the Persian Gulf region. USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A. Belonogov briefed the deputies on the measures taken by the Soviet Government. In his words, the government proceeded from the premise that fundamental principles of international law were violated as a result of Iraq's annexation of Kuwait, the sovereignty of an independent state was flouted, and the life of many people was placed in jeopardy.

He set out the main aspects of the government's activity, adding virtually nothing to what has been published in the papers. Later, during the debate, the deputies pointed to the unacceptability of the situation where the press is their only source of information. Other speeches noted that the Foreign Ministry spokesman's announcement lacked the most important thing—analysis of events and forecasts for their development in the light of the Soviet state's interests.

Nevertheless, it was learned that, unless the timetable is disrupted, the evacuation from Iraq of members of Soviet specialists' families should be completed 31 August. In all, around 7,000 people are working in Iraq. A tense situation has been created around them lately. Incidents jeopardizing their lives have been recorded. For example, recently Iraqi servicemen fired on a Soviet "first aid" vehicle. One person, a USSR citizen, was wounded. The continuation of such a situation, A. Belonogov declared, may force the Soviet Union to decide to recall all Soviet specialists from Iraq. The Soviet Union intends to protect its citizens in the most resolute way.

Moreover, the Foreign Ministry spokesman assured the deputies that the Soviet Union is strictly fulfilling the trade and economic sanctions against Iraq introduced by decision of the UN Security Council: All trade transactions have been ended and helicopters and warplanes taken to the USSR for repair have not been returned to Iraq.

As for the damage to the USSR economy as a result of the sanctions against Iraq, our losses in 1990 will total $800 million in the form of current payments and shortfalls in the delivery of Iraqi petroleum, which we reexported to India, Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia. We have also failed to receive $115 million from occupied Kuwait.

The losses are quite sizable for a single year and for our ailing economy. However, it is essentially a matter of more valuable things—the observance of moral principles whose violation in the past meant that there were all too many dictators among our "friends," respect for the norms of international law, and humanism.... The committee members did not hesitate over the choice and approved the government's actions.

Deputies expressed concern at the strengthening military presence in the region, especially that of the United States, which is also, as Deputy Lobov noted, keeping its 350,000-strong troop contingent in West Europe untouched. The committee recommended that the USSR Government examine the question of recalling all Soviet specialists from Iraq, and some speeches raised the question of the need to denounce the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty with Iraq.

The committee members went on to look at the text of the Hungarian State Assembly's appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the events of 1956 in that country. An initial exchange of opinions took place in the committee.

The committee instructed its subcommittee on foreign policy and legal treaty questions to continue work to prepare proposals in connection with the Hungarian State Assembly's appeal.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Views Economic, Political Situation

LD0509200690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Interview with USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev by correspondent Vladimir Stepanyuk on 5 September in Gorbachev's Kremlin study; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Stepanyuk] Mikhail Sergeyevich, we have been here in the Kremlin nearly all day today, and we see you taking part in the work of the Congress of the Communist Party of Russia. A U.S. delegation has just left you, and in 40 minutes' time you are said to have another meeting. We simply feel that it's a very busy day.

[Gorbachev] Yes, a busy but at the same time, I would say, an ordinary day. That conversation with the Americans today is a very important conversation. It is a representative delegation from the Congress led by Republican leader Dole, a well-known senator close to President Bush, and the conversation was very substantive. It was all the more important to me in connection with the forthcoming meeting in Helsinki with the President of the United States of America.

And yesterday we ended the debate at 10 o'clock in the evening. We started it at three o'clock. I mean the conversation with the group, with the groups of specialists and scientists who are working on the draft program for transition to the market.

[Stepanyuk] Could you tell us something briefly about the meeting, how it went and its results?

[Gorbachev] You know I am satisfied, nevertheless, with yesterday's discussion. It was very substantive. Perhaps I can, for the first time and without any reservations, say it was very constructive. Above all there is a convergence of views over the main thing: It is necessary to move toward the market. Moreover, we don't just need a market as such, and that distinguishes the approach of both groups and both drafts—I mean both the draft by Academician Shatalin's group and the government one—that we need the market so as to activate the potential possibilities of our society. Its main import is still through stabilization of the market, through stabilization of the ruble, to attain a normal economy geared toward and aimed more toward mankind. The conversation was highly substantive. We have now given two—incidentally, taking part in it were representatives of all republics at the level of chairmen of the Council of Ministers or their deputies, and in addition experts too so that it was a professional conversation—two days now for harmonizing opinions, for discussing the main issues so as to determine the direction to achieve a single program. It seems to me, as I've already said, that the fact that alongside the work of the government, we convened Shatalin's group too; imparted to the process a very, you know, competitive character, a character of search; and both groups have progressed a long way. And in that sense I see that the step was a correct one. There is the possibility of choosing. Yesterday we were making that choice, and I hope that we will achieve a well-considered, serious market program which will then go to the republics and the USSR Supreme Soviet for discussion.

[Stepanyuk] Mikhail Sergeyevich, in your opinion what influence will the adoption of this program—for the changeover to a market economy—have on the drawing up of the Union treaty?

[Gorbachev] I must say that it will have an extremely great influence. Everyone shares the opinion that we need a Union-wide market, a common economic area, a common currency, a common customs system, a coordinated tax policy, credit and banking system—everything that the market requires. If we proceed by any other path then this program is not necessary; it is calculated for a Union-wide market. Therefore I would say that the economy itself needs such a program. But on the other hand, these processes will provide a stimulus for uniting efforts, and this will affect everything and make an impact. Well, first of all, people will cooperate. And this is the most important prerequisite for this to be concluded with a certain transfer... [changes thought] to put it more accurately, for all of this to be reflected in the new Union treaty.

Here, too, we have now come—I have already spoken about this—to understand that it is necessary to transfer this work on preparing the Union treaty to the top level. A preparatory committee is being set up, or to be more accurate, a committee to work on the draft of the Union treaty which will include the top people of the republics and the main leaders of the Union. We are now at such an important stage; we have already begun examining fundamental questions. What we need now is coordination of actions, mutual understanding, and cooperation.

It is not permissible now for any republic or any region to display separatist actions, any exclusivity, any attempts to cut itself off. All of this violates the normal process of cooperation. Moreover, some republics are going in for adopting documents which in general hinder this normal process. And now, if one is to speak about the people's greatest wish, it is that there should be stability, that we should be able to examine fundamental questions and resolve them, that there should be less politicking, and if one can say that it is permissible at all, less holding of rallies. Now is the time for serious and deep decisions and practical deeds. And I must say that if we act in this way then I am sure that everything will happen in our country. I look forward with optimism. We have emerged, and we can now see the prospects for resolving the most major questions. But now I see that in some places they have created a situation as a result of unthought-out actions which it is now difficult to resolve. Even so, it is possible and necessary to resolve it.

We are now ending this interview and I am going to have a conversation with the leaders of Moldova, with the president—presidential power has just come into being in Moldova, and they have elected Comrade Snegur as president—and with the chairman of the government. But now, along with Moldova, there are two other republics. I would like to ask the comrades first of all how this could happen. It happened because they did not pay attention to the warnings which were given. No one in any of our republics should act in such a way as to insist on the position of one section and ignore the position of others. I think that disregard in politics for the decisions adopted has prompted, has stimulated those actions which have now come out in the form of these events. In general, you know, I am worried about this. Simply to say that someone or something has done this out of some kind of petty interests would be the biggest simplification. That is an error that has been permitted to occur in policy. And now one must seek by means of that same political process to untie that knot, to harmonize the interests. I do not think that the people who lived on that territory, in a fine republic and in a good place, have already broken off all contacts. No, there still are those contacts, and while they exist one must now go back in order to restore them, to find agreement, and restore the normal functioning of the

entire republic. I think that this can only be done by means of a progressive policy and agreement. If someone thinks that this can be done by using strong-arm methods, I think that they are creating a pretense and banking on unsuitable means.

Nishanov Discusses Union Treaty Consultations

'Headway' Made in Discussions

LD0509210490 Moscow TASS in English 2034 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Chairman of the Nationalities Council of the USSR Supreme Soviet Rafik Nishanov told journalists in the Kremlin today, that recent consultations in Moscow concerning a new Union treaty were useful and fruitful.

He referred to the meetings between the working groups of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Union and republican governments.

Nishanov told journalists that despite the complexity of the consultation process, differences in approaches and diverging proposals, one thing was perfectly clear: A notable headway was made in raising the awareness of the historic significance of a new Union treaty and the need to conclude it as soon as possible.

Consultations made clear the identity of views on the need to essentially renew the Union by radically transforming it on democratic principles and creating a new Union of sovereign republics incorporating peoples on a voluntary, equal and mutually beneficial basis.

The initial basis of new principles, Nishanov said, must be provided by declarations or other acts postulating the state sovereignty of republics.

He said the consultation participants representing all republics favoured preserving Union relations, but there emerged a wide array of views on specific forms of organizing a new community. Most republican representatives favoured unification on federative principles, with a view to promote intra-federation relations differing radically from those in the past and at present. Representatives of some republics insisted on the possibility of building a Union on confederative princples. Nishanov doubted the need to try and confine the future of a unique multinational Union within the framework of such notions as federation and confederation. He called for a search for new, original solutions and flexible democratic forms to combine republican structures with union bodies.

Nishanov told journalists that the delegations from Belorussia, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Turkemenia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan had presented for discussion their own draft Union treaties. The working groups of the Russian Federation, Moldova, the Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia presented their views on a new Union and their ideas of treaty provisions in different forms.

Individual consultations continue concerning the entire set of interrelations between the Soviet Union and the three Baltic republics insisting on their special position.

Asked what evoked most diverse opinions, Nishanov pointed to such problems as the separation of powers between the subjects of the Union and powers vested in the centre. He said participants differed in their approaches to autonomous republics as subjects of the Union and parties to a Union treaty. Extensive and heated debates were sparked by questions relating to legislative activity, courts of justice and prosecution. Nishanov expressed hope that these and many other disputes would be settled during further talks.

Nishanov said nine expert groups were now working in Moscow in accordance with an agreement reached during the consultations to examine major treaty-related issues. Expert and working groups have also been set up in republics to work out concepts of a Union treaty and draft its variants.

At a recent joint session of the presidential and federation councils it was decided to form a preparatory committee to work on a new Union treaty. The committee will include authorized delegations from republics led by their top state officials. The Soviet president, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers will be directly involved in the work of the committee. It is expected to begin work in mid-September.

Nishanov said he believed that work to prepare a new Union treaty should not be separated from the transition to market relations and the formation of an all-Union market.

The preparation of a Union treaty, he said, should be made on the basis of genuine openness and take into comprehensive consideration various viewpoints and approaches.

Possible Political Systems Cited

LD0509151890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1349 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] [Announcer] Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, held a press conference today. My colleague Aleksandr Ruvinskiy, also a presenter of the "Panorama" program, attended it and let me ask him what happened at it and what is new.

[Ruvinskiy] You know, it was about the results of preliminary consultations with representatives of the republics about further steps toward the preparation of a Union treaty about which there is so much varied talk these days. Well it has already been reported that such consultations were held with 12 Union republics and

that the most varied matters were discussed at them. As Comrade Nishanov noted, there was complete coincidence of views on one thing: on the need for a radical renewal of our Union. What is more, the participants in the consultations from all the republics in general called for the preservation of Union relations.

[Announcer] I understand, Sasha, but what is envisioned? What type of Union will it be? A federation or a confederation? I know of those two types.

[Ruvinskiy] Well, you know, I asked Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov this question and he replied that there is as yet no single view. The assumption is emerging that it is not worth even trying to tie the future of the Union to the framework of these concepts of a federation or a confederation. Obviously new and original solutions of some kind are needed, and all in all quite a difficult path lies ahead toward coordinating the positions of the Union and autonomous republics.

[Announcer] Oh yes, we also have the autonomies.

[Ruvinskiy] And there are now many disagreements here. The point is that many autonomies are adopting their own acts of sovereignty—Supreme Soviet sessions have been held in the last few days—and they are insiting on their right to be plenipotentiary participants in the process of drawing up and signing a future Union treaty. All in all, if you recall, this principle also lies at the basis of the draft constitution once proposed by Andrey Dmitrovich Sakharov. At the time no one even examined that constitution seriously.

[Announcer] It was put to one side and that was that.

[Ruvinskiy] Well, now it has become quite obvious that these proposals are becoming a reality. One can judge the complexity of the work now being conducted and which still has to be done if only from the fact that there are, in all, 200 versions of a Union treaty, that is 200 different drafts. And another point of interest is that the question of the name to be given to our future Union is being discussed. There are various suggestions here. Two of them have so far gained the greatest support. They are: the Union of Sovereign Socialist States [Soyuz Suverennykh Sotsialisticheskikh Gosudarstv], the abbreviation will be USSS; or the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics [Soyuz Sovetskikh Suverennykh Respublik].

[Announcer] That retains the [abbreviation] USSR.

[Ruvinskiy] Yes, but note that the word socialist is absent from this version.

[Announcer] It has been replaced by the word sovereign.

[Ruvinskiy] Yes. And as Comrade Nishanov said to journalists, intensive consultations will be continued and the probable deadline for the drawing up of the draft of a new Union treaty will be the end of this year or the beginning of next year.

Centrist Parties Call Situation Nearly 'Critical'

LD0609084490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—The situation in the country was deemed close to critical at an expanded meeting of leaders of the centrist bloc of political parties and movements held in the capital today. In the view of those taking part, little time remains for radical decisions to be made to find a way out of the crisis in the economy, social sphere, and interethnic relations. By the end of the year, it was said at the conference, the coalition of centrist parties plans to put forward its own program for improving the situation and to hold an all-Union forum for the unity of all democratic forces in Moscow.

President's Press Service Chief Interviewed

PM0609090290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Vitaliy Ignatenko, leader of the USSR president's press service, by G. Alimov; place and date not given; under "Appointments" rubric: "Leader of the President's Press Service"—first two paragraphs are Alimov introduction]

[Text] Vitaliy Nikitich Ignatenko has been appointed aide to the USSR president and the leader of his press service.

He is 49 years old and was born in Sochi. A graduate of the Moscow State University Faculty of Journalism, he worked from the age of 18 on the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA where he traveled the path from apprentice and probationer up to first deputy chief editor, then he worked at TASS as deputy general director, then as deputy chief of a department in the CPSU Central Committee, and for the last four years as chief editor of NOVOYE VREMYA magazine.

[Alimov] The president's apparatus is only just taking shape. Even we journalists are sometimes very badly informed about what takes place up there "at the top." Does your appointment mean that now everything will change?

[Ignatenko] I would like to think so. I too think that there has been insufficient information, or even none at all. I do not think that this was to the president's advantage or ours. The institution of president is a new one for our country, and it seems to me to be very important today to show society how it is structured, how it is formed, and how it functions. I think that the president, on the other hand, has also for some time begun to feel that journalists and the public do not have a direct, constant, and reliable source of information about his position on various questions. For this reason one of our main tasks is to inform the public, to establish and then maintain a good two-way liaison with it.

[Alimov] Will you meet the press often?

[Ignatenko] As has already been announced, once a week on Tuesdays at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press center. But if circumstances require it, there will be unscheduled meetings as well. Naturally, we are also open for daily contacts.

[Alimov] Will the president himself, as he promised, meet more regularly with media representatives?

[Ignatenko] Yes, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev plans to conduct a direct dialogue with the press. A start has already been made here: As you know, he came to the press center for a meeting with journalists directly after the conclusion of the joint session of the Presidential and Federation Councils. But unfortunately, I do not think he will be able to do this according to any rigid timetable, say once a week. The USSR president, as I have seen for myself, is extremely overloaded with work. But to some extent better times will probably come and then, I think, more frequent meetings will become possible.

[Alimov] We all understand that press conferences require additional time and effort from the president. Would you like to say a few words about how M.S. Gorbachev's normal working day is organized?

[Ignatenko] The president's day begins before nine in the morning and ends about 10 in the evening. Sometimes later still. He does not have a weekend or even a lunch break in the usual sense of the word—he spends 10 to 15 minutes on it. The pace of Mikhail Sergeyevich's life is unbelievable, and the same pace is set for the whole apparatus. And indeed, you know, it is difficult to say whether the president finishes work around 10 in the evening. I have seen him when he is getting ready to go home take with him a mass of files of documents which he has not managed to study during the day. In the morning the president brings them back with his decisions and resolutions.

[Alimov] Tell me, do ordinary letters get to him directly?

[Ignatenko] Yes, he has a huge mailbag from widely different areas of the country and from abroad. The letters also vary—they contain many good wishes and words of support and sympathy, but the president looks through the critical ones first. Of course, like anyone, he is upset when someone assesses given actions of the country's leadership unfairly.

[Alimov] How will you structure your work with the president?

[Ignatenko] I think we will meet whenever necessary, but we will definitely exchange opinions the day before the Tuesday briefing. As leader of the press service, I would not want to abuse the president's goodwill, although his office is always open: No one stops you and asks why you are going and what for. He usually has about 20 meetings and conversations a day.

[Alimov] What principle do you intend to follow in relations with your colleagues?

[Ignatenko] I have already said at some time or other that it will be open work. And this is exactly what Mikhail Sergeyevich, as I understand, expects from me. I would like to be a sincere help to my colleagues as well.

[Alimov] How many people will be in the president's press service?

[Ignatenko] It is difficult to say as yet. In other countries, for instance in the FRG, it is a very large service—300 people; in the United States there are 30. We will have, I think, no more than 10 to 15. I would like this team to be very professional, composed of democratically and radically minded people. It would be nice for it to include a good philosopher and an economist. We do not intend to be involved in agitprop work. We must be reliable helpmates in the president's relations with the press and the press' relations with the president.

[Alimov] Where will your headquarters be?

[Ignatenko] An office, obviously, where the president works, and another here in the NOVOYE VREMYA building. The president has also supported this idea. Having an office here at the NOVOYE VREMYA editorial offices means that I am accessible to colleagues; after all, there is a special procedure at the Kremlin—passes, and so forth....

Commentator Views Choices Facing Gorbachev

LD0509134290 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Commentary by Vyacheslav Solovyev]

[Excerpts] Numerous problems have confronted President Mikhail Gorbachev upon his return from brief summer holidays. Many of them are crucial to perestroyka, to the country, and to the head of state himself. Here is a commentary by Vyacheslav Solovyev.

How busy the president is is borne out at least by his Tuesday [4 September] schedule. [passage omitted] On the whole, one can't help accepting the new presidential assistant's view that Gorbachev's pace of activity is incredibly fast, and so is that of his administration. One certainly wonders how efficient and productive such strenuous presidential work is.

If the foreign policy gains of the course he has been pursuing are questioned only by an insignificant minority of Soviet conservatives, his domestic policy is regarded more critically by society as a whole. This above all concerns the president's position on the most sensitive and crucial issue at this stage of national development, that of transition to market relations in economy. On the one hand the president is censured that while steadily heading for a market he has been undermining socialism, impairing the working people's living standards, and encouraging the emergence of Soviet

bourgeoisie. On the other hand there have been quite a few criticial remarks about his inconsistence, indecision, and hardness to part with ideological dogmas.

In recent time the president's position, prestige, and even destiny has been increasingly linked to what program of transition to a market he will accept in the long run—a radical one by Dr. Shatalin's group, or a more traditional program by the Soviet Government. What will be Mikhail Gorbachev's choice? What will guide him in this? The interests of keeping status quo, which some people regard as quite acceptable as an alternative to an impending chaos? Or the president—as has been the cause many times—will adopt a decision that hardly anyone could foresee, but it will be a decision that will give further impetus to perestroyka. In the meantime the president's press service chief at Tuesday's briefing refuted rumors about Nikolay Ryzhkov's dismissal and revealed nonetheless that in transition to a market Mikhail Gorbachev gave preference to Dr. Shatalin's program rather than to that of the government.

Yakovlev Discusses Career, Political Events

90UN2755A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian
No 34, Aug 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev by Yevgeniy Sorokin; place and date not given: "I am Convinced: A Great Thing Has Been Started"]

[Text] [Sorokin] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, what are you working on, what problems are you handling as a member of the Presidential Council? And why, in your opinion, did the president stop his selection with your candidacy? What tasks are you setting for yourself?

[Yakovlev] A member of the Presidential Council is a participant in a consultative organ. I have been assigned general political problems. Additionally, from time to time the president gives individual instructions depending on the course of events. But all this does not mean the right to take command or make decisions. It means the right to express your opinion and your advice to the president as well as the obligation to carry out his instructions.

I see my tasks exclusively within the framework of the entire council as a whole: We must do everything possible so that the institution of the presidency effectively carries out its duties in the political system of perestroyka.

[Sorokin] In various years you have dealt with various issues in party and state posts. Which do you like most and consider a calling?

[Yakovlev] Interpretive work in which I can see a return from my efforts and the advantage of this return for the people and the cause. What I like least of all is the fuss of meetings and bureaucratic rituals. You only receive real satisfaction from your work when you can see its result. This is the only thing that makes it possible to judge whether you have done something useful or whether you have spent your time and effort in vain.

I should like, I should like very much for life to be arranged according to our reason and according to our hearts, and not according to the formalized "indicators" and directives which are marked by one striking quality: They almost always turn some distorted, dehumanized side to man. I am convinced that a great thing has been started, a historical turning point in the country's destiny, and a change for the better. We must bring it to its logical development.

People might object. In 1920, 1930, and other years people also thought that they were creating a better future, but today we see things a great deal differently. Are we not mistaken today as well? And even if we are right will we not fall down, will we not defeat the renewal with impatience, emotion, and incompetence?

I am convinced that we are not mistaken in the main thing—the very need for radical renewal—if only because practically everything comes together in the diagnosis and no alternative course to perestroyka has been suggested. But will we be able to carry it out, will we not get off the track and move toward the absurd or something worse? It depends on us. On all of us. Not just the president or his council or the government. On all of us. And I am inspired by a democratic tendency that has been discovered here in recent years: It warns us about mistakes and helps us correct them, and I think it also insures us against deviations.

In general all my life I have been attracted to two kinds of activity: scientific-analytical and commentary.

[Sorokin] Which events of international significance that have taken place in recent years would you single out? What was your participation in these events or your personal attitude toward them?

[Yakovlev] The withdrawal of the troops from Afghanistan. If perestroyka had done nothing else either in our domestic life or in foreign policy, I think this one thing would have made it worthy of our highest evaluation.

The USSR Congress of People's Deputies gave a political evaluation to this war. I share it. I emphasize only this: Our involvement in Afghanistan was predetermined by the same thinking, the same style of adopting high political decisions, and many of the same actions which had been used 30 to 40 years ago.

And in general it is difficult to single out from recent years one or even several events of international significance. There were many of them and all of them are significant and interwoven with one another.

The main such event is perestroyka itself. It has changed in the most profound way both the perception of us in the world and in the international situation, and also our ideas about the outside world have been largely changed as well.

As a phenomenon of international historical significance I would discuss the process of establishing the new political thinking and its taking its place in the practice of international politics. This includes everything: even the historical initiatives that were heard in the highest forums, including the United Nations. And there were deep changes in relations with the United States and the West, including the destruction of an entire class of nuclear weapons, normalization of relations with China, and the new climate in Europe.

My participation in all this was modest but I did participate.

[Sorokin] You were directly involved in the preparation and implementation of many measures related to perestroyka. What is typical of the perestroyka processes in the sphere of economics and social life: fear, doubts, haste, indecisiveness, sluggishness, laziness, indifference, something else?

[Yakovlev] There are both these things and many others. In some cases one thing and in some another. And it is strange that there have been no doubts about this matter. And we cannot demand that life, not to mention fundamental renewal, be rid of human passions, weaknesses, and shortcomings. That has never happened and it cannot happen.

But with all of this the minuses have not been the main thing. Everything cannot be reduced to the subjective actor. We have already been burned and the scars from the burns are still there decades later. The subjective exists and we must not fail to see it. And we must evaluate it and take a position: what to fight against and what to support....

There are, however, things that are more complicated: the objective side of social life. We have proclaimed a great deal and continue to proclaim that Marxism discovered the laws of this life, it recognized them, and thus turned them into a compass for social development. But life has proceeded in its own way, ignoring the scholastic patterns. There are no categories to accommodate the fact that the postrevolutionary way of life gave rise to wage leveling, dependency, and the cult of violence. Why? And is this all a matter of the subjective?

It is necessary to pose the question differently: Why is our economic, social, and political mechanism opening up the space for all this? And sometimes it even persistently pushes toward it. What must be changed in the organization of life itself in order to nullify these "dynamic stimuli" or place reliable legal, economic, and moral strictures on them? When we answer these questions we begin actually to restructure our lives—and then movement toward a new quality of life acquires meaning and prospects.

Perestroyka returns to the underpinnings of life, to its objective laws. Possibly this is really being done for the first time in the history of socialism. And I also want to emphasize this: Only with this kind of a statement of the problem in theory and with this approach in practice will we obtain the maximum preconditions for making the renewal bloodless, without any serious social threats or disturbances. And if we look on the subjective side and see in everything somebody's intrigues, malicious intentions, or unsuitability; if we look at guilty parties and get rid of them, any large social transformations will almost inevitably involve an extremely high probability of civil conflict. And that would be a historical catastrophe.

[Sorokin] History and modernity: the evaluation and re-evaluation of various events, people, and phenomena. Your position as chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission for additional study of materials related to the repressions that occurred during the period of the thirties, forties, and the beginning of the fifties.

[Yakovlev] We have already begun to discuss this. My position as chairman of this commission lies in the decisions and results of its work. And the results are such that in addition to the work that was done previously we have rehabilitated about a million people. The work of rehabilitating innocent victims itself has been placed on a completely new moral basis.

But for the first time within the framework of this work the commission has been given a special task: to understand the mechanism of the repressions, the sources of their appearance, the causes of their scale and duration, and how society became essentially defenseless. I think we are approaching such an understanding. And the main thing is that we have opened up the space—I have in mind the political space—for normal scientific work in this area.

History cannot be changed.... And a re-evaluation of the past—whether you are speaking about people, events, or phenomena—has a meaning as well as a moral right to exist only under the condition that this re-evaluation adds something qualitatively new to our present understanding of history and the essence of social development. Ultimately society needs objective, unhypocritical research of itself: its past, present, and future.

Progress in history has always passed through tragedy; in the 21st century it must pass through human happiness. Here is where I see the highest meaning of the commission's work.

[Sorokin] One of the remarkable phenomena of recent times has been the growth of national self-awareness, and at the same time the complication of interethnic relations. What is the interconnection here? Along which paths should we be looking for approaches to mutual understanding?

[Yakovlev] First one must answer these questions: What precisely is "growing"? What is the quality of this growth? And is this growth always a good, necessary, and useful thing? And specifically what kind of self-awareness are we talking about?

If this is interest in one's people, their history, culture, and language that is one thing. If it is a better understanding of the position and role of one's people, this is one quality and it is creative. But if they have in mind stirring up nationalistic attitudes, chauvinism, and contempt for others, then this is quite a different quality and one that is destructive.

"The complication of interethnic relations" is at best a statement of fact and it says nothing about the reasons, because interethnic relations always include economic and social relations.

In a multinational country any problem always and inevitably has an interethnic context. Could perestroyka have avoided having this? The more so when there arises the possibility of masking the basest motives and inducements, interests and goals, with the loftiest words about love for one's people, protection of their age-old and legitimate rights, and so forth.

On the territory of a modern rule-of-law state, the rights of any citizen must be guaranteed and religiously observed. And it is not important what his nationality is.

I think the path to freedom for all lies in all-around and effective protection of the rights of the individual. Just as there is an equal demand everywhere for him to perform his civic and other duties. If we actually achieve protection of the individual there will be none who are offended by the fate of nations.

[Sorokin] What do you think caused the disagreement and group chauvinism in the sphere of the creative intelligentsia? What must be done here to normalize the situation?

[Yakovlev] In my view there is no need to do anything. Life itself will put everything in its place, and this is even more true of history. History has a special scale of values which modern man has not yet even recognized.

There are more than enough reasons for disagreements and group chauvinism in the creative sphere. Some of the reasons are objective and even invigorating, for can there be any real creativity without disputes and conflicts, contradictions and disagreements, arguments and differences of opinion? It is another matter when all this exists but there is still not enough creativity. But that is a topic for another discussion.

There are also economic factors and elementary competition. In certain healthy forms these are also inevitable and they advance life, thought, and creativity.

The difficult time of perestroyka with its reassessment of the past, difficult problems of the present, and the impossibility of a simple answer to them is also having its effect.

The seeds of intolerance are sometimes found in the hatred of the ungifted for their more talented colleagues.

And finally, there is the residual effect of the policy that had been implemented for decades when little groups of "their people" who were "in their pockets" were opposed to all the others and to one another.

So there are many causes. And although something must be done, we must not be drawn into civil strife but work patiently and long to improve the overall culture of the society so that participation in this kind of civil strife will be simply unacceptable.

[Sorokin] Questions of a personal nature: Your family—your parents and children. What are your weaknesses and your favorite occupations? How do you evaluate yourself as a person and a citizen?

[Yakovlev] Let others make the evaluations, especially of this kind. I can only say one thing: All my life I have tried to be sincere, to speak and act in accordance with my convictions, and to work honestly. It is not for me to judge how well I have succeeded.

I have a large and good family. My parents, unfortunately, are no longer living. I come from peasant roots from Yaroslav province. My sisters are still living in Yaroslav Oblast. My wife is a former teacher and is now on a pension. I have two grown children and four grandchildren.

There is no time for my weaknesses and favorite occupations. But still I love chess. And good books. I love to gather mushrooms.

And in general when I have something interesting to do, when my work engrosses me, and I have a sense of its meaning and purpose, then other things of interest do not especially attract me.

[Sorokin] Whom would you name from among the writers, scholars, and politicians as having the greatest influence on you? Whom do you respect?

[Yakovlev] You know I am not an idol worshiper. And I absolutely disagree with those who can and do worship one or even many thinkers, politicians, or other people who are outstanding in some way.

Respect, admiration, and the good kind of envy—yes. But in combination with the work of my own mind.

And influence...many have influenced me. Both the classical and modern writers and philosophers. Both domestic and foreign. And not all at once: As thought they "influenced" me and that was it. Sometimes when you read something many years later you suddenly discover something for yourself.

Of course I have my weaknesses. Of the poets I like Lermontov, Blok, and Yesenin most; of the prose writers Gogol, Dostoyevskiy, and Chekhov; literary critics, Pisarev; and thinkers, Kant.

Chemical Pollution in Subway Cause of Illnesses

LD0609085990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] A few days ago the television program Vremya reported an incident in the Tashkent metro. There a new micro-organism had allegedly been discovered that causes a terrible illness. Our correspondent asked Mikhail Ivanovich Markeyevich, head of the Main Epidemiological Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Health, to comment on this report.

[Markeyevich] The information reported was not precise. All that has been said does not correspond to the truth. Everything that took place in the underground railway is connected with the acute poisoning of personnel, train drivers, and staff who service these lines, and this was caused by chemical substances. Where did these substances come from in the underground railway tunnels? The fact is that there is a large factory situated next to this line. This enterprise has been very negligent regarding environmental conservation. In particular the waste waters—and they contain dozens of chemical substances—flowed through a drainage ditch in which there was no purification when it left the enterprise. It was in a bad state, and the waste waters contaminated with chemical substances—aromatic hydrocarbons, rare metals, as well as many, many others—penetrated the soil. This situation built up and the underground railway lines formed kind of dams for these waste waters, and when the waste waters rose with the floods naturally there was nowhere for those chemical substances that had dissolved in the soil to go; under pressure they penetrated [the metro tunnels] and caused poisoning.

Specialists, in particular those dealing with railway hygiene from the Ministry of Railways who came specially to get to the bottom of this matter, provided visual proof of the reasons for what had happened. They discovered air in the tunnels containing many substances—in particular hydrogen sulphide, aromatic hydrocarbons, and many other substances—exceeding by dozens of times the permissible concentrations. Therefore the diagnosis made on personnel was acute combined poisoning with chemical substances. What was said in the interview with Deacon Professor Khodzhayev does not in general correspond to the truth. There is no proof of his statement.

Western Handling of State Secrets Discussed

90UF0482A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Mikhail Lyubimov, KGB reserve colonel, by I. Sichka and A. Tsatsuyev: "We 'Discover' America"; followed by interview with USSR Chief Military Prosecutor A. Katusev by unidentified KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent: "In the USSR Office of the Public Prosecutor"; places and dates not given]

[Text] *There are no intelligence services without secrets. And one of the problems that the proposed KGB reform raises is how to combine the necessary regime of secrecy with control over the activity of state security organs on the part of parliament, deputies, and the public. Our interlocutor, Mikhail Lyubimov, a colonel in the KGB reserve, who for a long time was among the leading personnel of Soviet intelligence, talks about how this problem is resolved in the West.*

[Lyubimov] In the United States, for example, the CIA and the FBI are under continuous merciless fire from the press and various organizations that specialize in criticism of the intelligence services. As for the employees, according to the conditions of their contract, they are obliged to submit their memoirs or other books of a documentary nature to preliminary censorship of the CIA. In the event an employee violates his obligation, the CIA can bring him to trial. But I have not heard that they would take away awards or, say, pensions and military titles in the CIA or in the FBI. The court decides everything as is prescribed in a rule-of-law state. And there is a fundamental difference in the understanding of secrecy and a state secret. In his memoirs "Honorable People," former CIA Director W. Colby writes in detail about the CIA structure and his work in it. For example, he does not conceal that in 1952, as chief of station in Norway, he established an agent network for the organization of guerrilla warfare in Scandinavia in the event of an invasion there by Soviet troops. Former Deputy CIA Director R. Kline writes a lot in his memoirs about his colleagues and about specific operations such as, for example, the procurement and open publication of the secret report of N. Khrushchev at the 20th congress, secret actions against Cuba, and the financing of a number of journalists; one example is the "Encounter" operation in Taiwan against the PRC and the like. This is, you yourself understand, not simply political criticism of the intelligence services as in the case of Kalugin. And incidentally, Colby and Kline are CIA apologists. But there are also critics among the former employees: for example, the head of the operational CIA group in Angola, John Stockwell, who wrote the book "In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story." This is a full account of a large-scale secret operation—interference in the affairs of Angola in the years 1974-1976. Everything is specific there: facts, names of agents, and financing sums. The CIA instituted court proceedings against Stockwell and recovered a $50,000 honorarium for the book through the court. But of course the harshest, and probably the most justified, were the CIA actions against former employee P. Agee whose book "Inside the Company: A CIA Diary" not only described all of the secret operations in Latin America that he knew about, but he also gave a list of several dozen CIA employees and agents, and he named the organizations that were being financed by the CIA. Among the agents are members of Latin American governments, prominent businessmen.... But Agee did not settle for this and wrote a book "Dirty CIA Work in Western Europe" in which he also presented a list of agents and organizations. A long court case was

started, as a result of which Agee was expelled from the United States. Afterward, under CIA pressure, he was expelled from England and France.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Well then, the intelligence services resigned themselves to their employees leaking secrets?

[Lyubimov] Nothing of the kind. But they have no methods of wrestling with the problem other than legal ones. In 1982 the United States passed a law to prevent leaks which was aimed against persons of the Agee type and against the journal COVERT ACTION INFORMATION BULLETIN, which printed the names of 2,000 CIA employees throughout the world. According to this law civil servants, including CIA employees, retired or still on active duty, can be sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and fined $50,000 for publicizing the names of agents without official sanction.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Perhaps we should adopt a similar law?

[Lyubimov] First we have to introduce proper procedures for questions of secrecy, and to reform and democratize the KGB. The CIA declassifies its documents within 30 years, of course initially "filtering" them well. On the basis of his own experience and declassified documents, former CIA employee Marks, for example, wrote a book about the work of the CIA in the area of using hypnosis and drugs to control a person's behavior. Unfortunately we do not yet have a rule-of-law state, and a similar law could be used not for guarding real secrets but for covering up violations of the law.

Speaking frankly, I did not understand the notion already expressed in the press that, it is said, if Kalugin assumed the specific obligations that an intelligence service imposes he should fulfill them and keep quiet. So, keep quiet about unlawful actions? But who will say that there were none? This system breaks down. Just imagine that anti-perestroyka forces came to power in the country. They especially would accuse the leaders of perestroyka specifically of publicizing state secrets—the military budget, the dispositions of many military installations, certain statistics....

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] In certain emigre circles in the West, and indeed here as well, voices can be heard stating that we should not make a national hero out of the former KGB general who worked honorably during the years of stagnation....

[Lyubimov] I agree with them. By the way, as far as I know Kalugin himself thinks this. For me the heroes are Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov, Gorbachev, and Yeltsin. They are all different, but I am confident that they will occupy a worthy place in our history. I, for example, did not have enough courage to come out publicly against our intervention in Afghanistan. An intelligence officer in such cases could have only great unpleasantness, to put it mildly. But what is one to do now? Tear one's hair out? Stand up for former views? Incidentally us intelligence officers can be criticized severely in the West, but we did not prophesy about "real socialism" from pulpits and rostrums and we did not stupefy our people with propaganda from the pages of journals and newspapers. On the other hand, those who emigrated to the West also are not saints, though it does not make me tremble that the currently popular radio station "SVOBODA" [FREEDOM] in our country is financed by the U.S. Congress and is connected with the CIA. I am for very close cooperation between our government and the U.S. Government, for practical relations between the CIA and a reformed KGB, since the intelligence services are only executors of the political will of our governments. It is time to think about a mutual reduction in intelligence activity and about joint work against those forces that can acquire nuclear weapons and aim it at the world. We must forget past offenses if we want happiness for our own people and not set up noisy quarrels in the ranks of the supporters of perestroyka. I understand that some people want to come back from emigration on a white horse for the "second stage of the revolution" when the prosecution of Communists and KGB members, current and former, begins....

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] How do you evaluate the institution of criminal proceedings against Kalugin?

[Lyubimov] Strange as this may seem, positively. Although, of course, I do not see what charges they can bring against him. But that is the way it should be in a rule-of-law state, and it is not necessary to involve anyone in such matters other than the court.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] You refused the badge "Honorable State Security Employee." Why? Is this a protest?

[Lyubimov] No. Not only and not so much because of Kalugin. The development of perestroyka in the KGB, to put it mildly, perplexes me. Take at least these agonizing "concessions to glasnost" on the question of agents—they are helpers, informants, and well-wishers who, it turns out, are not paid money and are not encouraged, as if the intelligence services were so liked in our country that from the very first days of the revolution they have been helping them from the bottom of their heart—the negation of dossiers, opening and reading mail, surveillance, and bugging. What kind of an intelligence service is this? An institute of aristocratic girls? But I want the KGB to catch the Mafia and spies precisely with the help of "specific features" of the KGB! All of this is functioning in all of the intelligence services of the world, and indeed more effectively than in our country. Only it all has to be placed under the control of the law, the court, the office of the public prosecutor, and parliament.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] How do you assess Kalugin's chances in the elections?

[Lyubimov] I think that he will win. And not only because he is speaking from democratic positions. Cossacks, by the way, always liked generals....

In the Office of the USSR Public Prosecutor

As is known, criminal proceedings have been brought against a former KGB major general. USSR Chief Military Prosecutor A. Katusev responds to our reporter's questions.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Aleksandr Filippovich, what are the grounds for instituting these criminal proceedings?

[Katusev] As the press has already reported, materials submitted by the USSR KGB to the USSR Office of the Public Prosecutor served as the grounds for instituting criminal proceedings.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But could you be more specific, what are these materials?

[Katusev] At the present time we cannot report on what specific materials we are talking about. This is an investigation secret.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But why has the KGB material in the "Kalugin affair" been turned over to the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office?

[Katusev] I want to make it clear: This is not a matter regarding Kalugin, but it concerns the "fact of disclosure in the media, with reference to Kalugin and on his behalf, of information that constitutes a state secret" inasmuch as it is still necessary to establish his authorship in these publications. The Union Prosecutor General, according to the law, has the right to assign the investigation of a criminal matter to any subdivision of the USSR Office of the Public Prosecutor, and the Chief Military Prosecutor is a component of it. Moreover, it investigates cases of crimes committed by servicemen and also by KGB officials, which Kalugin was until recently.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Where is the guarantee that this affair will be investigated objectively and that the investigation will not experience pressure "from above?"

[Katusev] We of course are not insured against any kind of pressure, but I can say definitely: We will be guided entirely by the requirements of the law to ensure thoroughness, completeness, and objectivity in investigating all aspects of the case.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Let us suppose that the investigation has ended, Kalugin's guilt in divulging information constituting a state secret has been demonstrated, and he is before the court. What kind of a court will this be: open or closed?

[Katusev] In accordance with the requirement of Article 18 of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Criminal Procedures Code, a court trial is open in all cases, with the exception of cases when this contradicts the interests of the protection of a state secret. But as yet this is not a question, the investigation is only in the initial stage, and you are already talking about a court trial....

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But when will the investigation supposedly be completed?

[Katusev] I cannot answer this question now inasmuch as the volume of investigative work is substantial, and a lot of time will be required for its completion.

Constitutional Oversight Committee Tasks Viewed

PM0409085590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by S. Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Constitutional Oversight: First Steps and Problems"]

[Text] Constitutional oversight has been operating in the country for several months now. The committee nearly has its full complement, although there are still five vacancies out of 27. Sections have been formed for different areas of legislation headed by prominent professors of jurisprudence—M.I. Piskotin, Yu.K. Tolstoy, and V.D. Filimonov. A small yet qualified apparatus of expert scientists and a secretariat are being formed.

The committee has examined a number of matters. A decision has already been adopted on one of them: acts that rule out the court procedure for examining labor disputes for a number of categories of working people, and there are approximately 23 million such working people. These acts are deemed to be unconstitutional and to violate human rights.

Next in line are other major questions connected with the formation of a rule-of-law state: the constitutionality of the existing procedure for registering departmental acts which limit the consumer's rights; the presidential decree on rallies and demonstrations in downtown Moscow; legal backup for servicemen's housing rights in Union republics; and certain provisions of criminal legislation which do not correspond to the presumption of innocence. It is planned to adopt and examine a number of other matters, including the constitutionality of acts of current legislation connected with citizens' rights and freedoms. And so the first steps have been taken. What are their results?

I do not believe that the fears that, in the absence of a new USSR constitution, the committee would be the bulwark of old usages and the guardian of the Brezhnevian constitution, a restraining, reactionary factor as well as a kind of "muzzle" on perestroyka have been realized. Those fears were understandable. And yet, right from the beginning, they were hardly well founded in principle. The sanctity of constitutional principles and the existence of mechanisms to ensure them are the paramount sign of a genuinely rule-of-law state. The alternative to this—dreadful and devoid of prospects—is

the flouting of the Constitution and of the laws with impunity, an orgy of lawmaking arbitrariness and the breakdown of statehood.

In addition, the 1977 Constitution together with elements characteristic of the stagnation times is still not essentially "Brezhnevian"; it contains many progressive points. True the articles were declarative, but they are now acquiring real significance.

In addition, points on the multiparty system, the diversity of forms of ownership, and a really democratic system of elections have been included in the text of the Constitution during the years of perestroyka. They have been backed up by new progressive laws which have already been adopted on the press, on local self-management, on ensuring the court's independence, etc. The fears that were expressed did not take account of the irreversibility and the pace of the perestroyka processes themselves, including in state-legal life.

And this circumstance is decisive for the work of the committee which has not only based its activity on the progressive, vital principles of the Constitution and the latest current legislation, but has also adopted a policy of establishing a rule-of-law state and unconditionally ensuring human rights. This is the core which, maybe not yet fully nor always consistently, but is already determining the practice of constitutional oversight, the nature of the matters to be examined by the committee, and the thrust of their resolution.

But it is also necessary to see something else. The fact that with regard to a number of aspects of the constitutional, state-legal life of society, and moreover its most complex and hot spots, the work of the Constitutional Oversight Committee has found itself temporarily paralyzed.

The thing is that when the Law on Constitutional Oversight was adopted, it was defined that, with the exception of normative legal acts concerning citizens' basic rights and freedoms, "the provisions...of the law regarding oversight of the conformity of Union republic constitutions and laws with the USSR Constitution and USSR laws come into force simultaneously with the changes and additions to the section of the USSR Constitution on the national-state structure of the USSR."

This means in practice that, until the conclusion of the new Union treaty, constitutional oversight in respect of the republic constitutions and current republic legislation is not exercised. But it is precisely in the sphere of republic legislation that the most complex, glaring, and urgent constitutional problems are now arising and that destructive, disruptive phenomena are building up en masse. But the committee is forced to keep quiet.

What is to be done? How can the new Union treaty be concluded more quickly and changes and additions be made to the section of the Constitution on the national-state structure? Not, of course, in the name of the committee's competency but in order to resolve the whole range of the Union's problems, when the committee too could reveal its whole potential? Well, the elaboration and conclusion of the Union treaty really is the foremost task, is not secondary to that of making the transition to a market economy, and in principle is organically united with it.

However, taking into account the experience of the committee's first steps I would like to make the following points. In my view, work on the Union treaty must not put off the resolution of the wider task of adopting the new Union constitution as a whole. And in the final analysis, the conclusion of the Union treaty and the adoption of the new constitution must be carried out with close coordination of these acts as a package.

Why? Because inalienable human rights are the center of sociopolitical life and of democratic development. They are the basis, the alpha and omega of a democratic constitution inspiring its whole substance. However, actual practice attests that in the intensity of political passions, which are particularly acute in national and interethnic relations, questions of human rights are frequently pushed aside and overshadowed by emotions and elemental political forces. Is it down to human rights when it is a question of territory, ownership of natural riches, division of state property, the competence of Union and republic organs, the distribution of financial resources, etc?

In general, the politicization of the population and the development of diverse political processes sometimes lead to elemental forces, when the cult of force, of totalitarian ways, and of "microphone law" begins to be revived—that terrible atmosphere of ochlocracy which alas is a real factor even now. It determines the whole atmosphere of political life and thus will undoubtedly influence in one way or another the processes associated with the conclusion of the Union treaty.

A balance is needed here. A sensible, developed balance of national interests combined with all-Union interests on the one hand, and on the other with the unshakable stronghold of democracy and the rule-of-law state—inalienable human rights. And such a balance can be achieved when the Union treaty and the all-Union constitution comprise a single, interconnected package.

The real events of political life recently have brought the Constitutional Oversight Committee, and not it alone, to a point beyond which general paralysis, general incapacity, and the withering and collapse of the Union and of all its institutions and subdivisions begin. Why is this? This situation was ushered in by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's 11 March Declaration of Independence by such wordings in it as "full sovereignty" and "full independence as a sovereign state," and by the analogous and close wording of the declarations of independence of a number of other republics.

After the Lithuanian declaration and the document of the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies condemning it, there followed a kind of explosion, a fueling

of political passions with a new series of acts of the Lithuanian parliament and with countermeasures—at times tough measures—of the Union power. These measures, incidentally, opened people's eyes to the grim realities which await us all on the violation of good concord, a departure from the culture of law, and the diktat of unilateral actions.

It has somehow gone unnoticed that the aforementioned wordings are basically of an irritating political-emotional nature and that they are merely general frank statements of intentions and resolve. Unfortunately, for some reason other truly decisive steps which are really of a crisis nature in the state-legal sphere have not attracted proper attention. Statements in this regard by a number of legal experts have also gone unnoticed.

What am I talking about? About the fact that both before and after the Lithuanian declaration, right up to the present day, a number of republics have announced the "priority" or "supremacy" of republican constitutions and of current republican legislation over the all-Union constitution and the current all-Union legislation. And it would all be almost normal if, as was done in Russia's declaration of sovereignty—although the necessary juridical accuracy was not everywhere achieved in it either—this "priority" or "supremacy" were organically linked with republican sovereignty and the Union republics' competence. No, in a number of republics this is spoken of without any reservation. And what is more, it is already envisaged that all-Union acts operate only on "approval" or "ratification" by the republic.

This is the crux of the problem! For, given general unconditional recognition of the "priority" or "supremacy" of republican legislation, it is impossible in principle to form the Union either on federative, on confederative, or on any other associative principles. In point of fact, an abrupt historical leap far backward is being asserted—back to the isolationism characteristic of epochs through which mankind passed long ago. The utmost clarity is needed here without the slightest self-deception.

At the modern level of human civilization and the unity and integration of states in an integral human community, the worldwide, regional, and political-associative cooperation of sovereign states in expressed in the formation and operation of unified principles and norms. In accordance with this, the priority—priority!—of international over national law is now generally accepted. In a number of parts of Europe it is the priority—priority!—of the common norms of, for example, the European Parliament and the Common Market organizations over the corresponding national normative provisions. It is easy to imagine what would happen if a state—and this has happened in the past in our country, in Korea, and in Albania—were to announce the unconditional priority of its own national norms over international norms. The result is clear: Such a state would inevitably place itself outside the world community. I do not wish to dramatize the situation. Maybe the aforesaid wordings of the declarations are nothing more than a political-emotional reaction to the diktat of the center and the previously absolute priority of any all-Union legislation. Or simply the consequence of a lack of the necessary juridical accuracy.

I am a consistent supporter of constituting the republics' full-fledged national statehood and using the wide range of state-integration principles, even including confederative and other associative principles; really strong and organic ties will inevitably result from the market economy itself and the formation and development of the single market. But, however profound the republics' sovereignty and however multifaceted the forms of state-integration ties may be, unified and universally recognized principles and norms, which must possess binding juridical force from the moment they are published and must operate without any subsequent "approval" or "ratification," cannot fail to exist in the Union. Otherwise all-Union norms and all-Union legislation are altogether deprived of meaning and are turned into some kind of recommendatory provisions. All this leads directly to the breakup of the Union and discredits the law.

It is another matter that, when drawing up all-Union norms, the republics' competence and democratic order must be strictly observed and the republics' interests must be scrupulously taken into account. A mechanism is also needed to ensure the republics' interests in cases where their representatives on an all-Union organ remain in a minority (I can testify that such mechanisms are increasingly being established in the work practice of the USSR Supreme Soviet). But as soon as all-Union norms have been adopted the subsequent acts based on them must unconditionally become universally binding. Within the framework of such norms, priority and supremacy belong no longer to republican legislation but to all-Union legislation.

And the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee can and must operate within this same framework—yes, precisely within the said framework but nonetheless on a firm legal basis, on principles of strict juridical binding force. Of course it has to be understood that in the long term, in conformity with the substance of the new Union treaty, the nature and volume of all-Union constitutional oversight and its powers will undoubtedly be transformed. I am sure that one thing will remain unchanged: its functions of ensuring human rights. And maybe in the future, retaining its role as an arbiter, the committee will become the highest body for ensuring inalienable human rights in all laws and other normative juridical acts of all parts of the Union.

Finally, it is time to say the following. "Oversight," albeit constitutional, is after all a misnomer for the committee's activity. This is a mistake! Although of course its origins are understandable. The need for "oversight" and for "the sovereign's vigilant eye" with the aim of immediately suppressing, prohibiting, and nailing down, has eaten into our flesh and blood since

the times of Peter, and in particular by virtue of the postulates of the Stalinist administrative-repressive system. And, wherever you look, there is prosecutor's office oversight, people's control, financial control, fire-prevention oversight, sanitary oversight, boiler oversight....

However, the constitution is a fine and lofty, democratic and humanitarian matter of law and culture. It is not the methods of "oversight" and "control" that are organic for it, but judicial activity appropriate to it. And in all democratic countries the work of ensuring the constitution is carried out by constitutional courts—the Supreme Court in the United States, the Constitutional Tribunal in Poland—or by constitutional councils as in France and Hungary.

Here there is a delicate practical side to the problem connected with people's clearly inexact orientation with regard to the committee's activity—oversight, you know! Sometimes we hear either rebukes or demands: "You should be a bit more strict with Gorbachev's decrees;" "Is Sobchak not going too far with his acts?" or "Why is Yeltsin self-willed?"

Of course it is necessary to correct this incongruity in the future in the new constitution and to call the present committee according to its nature—the Constitutional Court, or in the last resort the Constitutional Council.

The chief thing, and this is needed right now, is that it is necessary to strengthen and develop the committee's judicial nature. For even under the existing law it is not some oversight and controlling organ but, to some extent, a suprastate organ: a civil, scientific-professional collegium of legal and political experts called upon to assert the supreme legal values enshrined in the constitution and to make them unshakable. Its purpose is not to exercise vigilant "oversight" but to be a legal court over the laws and other normative juridical acts from the positions of the constitution, from the positions of the lofty legal principles expressed in it, the ideals and principles of a genuinely rule-of-law state.

In principle the committee's very activity is organized on judicial principles. The Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR clearly and exhaustively defines the organs and the officials accorded the right to institute proceedings in the committee—for many questions, including questions of a constitutional order, are resolved in the people's court and the prosecutor's office.

The committee examines and resolves matters on a strictly collective basis. Neither the committee's members, nor its chairman or his deputy for questions of the conformity of particular acts with the Constitution, are empowered to take any individual actions.

Judicial principles are also present in the very procedure for examining matters in the committee. For example, matters are examined in public while the conclusions on them are passed behind "closed doors"—the principle of the secrecy of the consultative room is observed. But there are unresolved questions here.

Not that it is very difficult, in general, to adjust questions of procedure, and in particular to introduce contentious principles into it. Successful use can be made here of the achievements of world and domestic court culture accumulated over the centuries. The decisive thing is to assert the general judicial status of the committee which is called upon to play a considerable role, I believe, in forming a real rule-of-law state in our country and the value and unshakability of human rights.

Official Interviewed on Drug Problem in USSR

PM3108104590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Nikolay Khromov, chief of the USSR MVD Main Criminal Investigation Administration, by A. Illesh; place and date not given; under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "How Many Drug Addicts Are There in Our Country?"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Our special correspondent talks with Nikolay Khromov, chief of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Main Criminal Investigation Administration, about the present state of drug addiction and the fight against the drug business in the USSR.

[Khromov] First of all I will answer the question put in the headline. We are convinced, and this is borne out by recent research, that in the USSR today there are about 1.5 million people who have tried drugs or use them.

[Illesh] Forgive me, but just a little while ago, during this year, the figures that were mentioned were different—10 times lower at 130,000 people. It is hard to grasp this upsurge in drug addiction....

[Khromov] There is something else that is hard to grasp: Why does our society still contemplate drug addiction so calmly? Is it not frightened by the sad experience of states where this ailment and the associated criminal world, which the police have difficulty in controlling, have now become an everyday disaster? No, as yet we are a long way behind the United States, say, in terms of this type of crime. But that is only for the present. Drug use is continuing to increase, and the number of dealers in the Soviet drug business is also increasing. In the last six months alone the militia has removed drugs worth 32.7 million rubles [R] from illegal circulation and thereby prevented them from flooding into the black market; this is 3.5 times more than in the same period last year. We have intercepted almost two tonnes of hashish alone; over six tons of marijuana; almost 100 kg of opium....

[Illesh] Nevertheless, Nikolay Petrovich, please explain that fantastic, according to our customary yardsticks, figure of 1.5 million....

[Khromov] I will try to put things in order. Today around 130,000 people who, as the saying goes, "engage

in the nonmedical use of drugs" are indeed registered with public health and internal affairs organs. And over 60,000 of them suffer from drug addiction. Each year around 25,000-30,000 drug-related crimes are cleared up. Around 25 to 30 tonnes of drugs and raw materials for their manufacture are removed from illegal circulation. But bear in mind that the figures relating to the 130,000 people registered as drug users are a drop in the bucket. They are the people with whom individual educational, preventive work is carried out and who are receiving medical treatment.... The degree of latency (concealed drug addiction) is truly huge. It is simply impossible now to reveal and register all drug users and give them treatment for many reasons—above all the small number of staffers of internal affairs and health care organs dealing with this problem and the low level of technical equipment of the militia and medicine....

But of course, in order to combat the phenomenon we need to know its true scale. Specialists, in particular our sociologists, have done this. The base for their researches was Turkmenia; Belorussia; Latvia; Maritime, Stavropol, and Krasnoyarsk Krays; Gorkiy, Novosibirsk, and Lvov Oblasts; and also Moscow and Tashkent. Thus the geography of research made it possible to make quite a full study of the spread of drug addiction on a countrywide scale.

Analysis of the collected information shows that drug addiction is most widespread among young people. People aged under 30 made up 67.2 percent and people aged under 35 made up 83.9 percent of the drug addicts and users who were polled. The majority of them—over 60 percent—began to use drugs at age 19 or under, and the the overwhelming majority—84 percent—began to use them before the age of 24. Three-fourths of respondents in Turkmenia and Belorussia believe that the number of registered addicts is not in line with the true number of users and addicts. One in four reported that the number is 10 times greater than that given in statistical reports. Thus, using the method of extrapolation as well as the figures from the sociological research and the experts' poll, we can conclude: The total number of people engaging in nonmedical drug use in the country is around 1.5 million.

[Illesh] Clearly the quantity of stimulants confiscated by the militia is also not in line with the scale of drug circulation in the USSR?

[Khromov] That is unfortunately true. In analyzing the statistics it should be remembered: On average in the country, and incidentally the picture is similar abroad, it is possible to intercept only 15 to 20 percent of the drugs in circulation. Each year 25 to 30 tonnes of drugs are confiscated, and these are of various kinds—drugs prepared from plant raw material, medicines, and so forth. So if you multiply those tonnes by the "percentage," the picture of the underground market will be more realistic. And serious. According to experts' estimates, illegal drug trafficking in the country—once again, taking latency into account—totals R3 billion per year.

[Illesh] A rather philistine question: Where in the country is the situation quieter, where have drugs not yet reached?

[Khromov] I fear I will disappoint you: There is practically nowhere left where this problem does not affect the crime situation to some extent. But drug addiction has become particularly widespread in the places where narcotic plants grow or are cultivated, such as Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Caucasus and Transcaucasus, the Ukraine, the Far East, Altay and Krasnodar Krays, the Tuva ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], Amur Oblast.... Incidentally, narcotic raw materials are often supplied, practically without impediment, from "producer" regions to the "consumer" big cities.

There is another danger and it is a great one: The appearance of synthetic drugs in illegal circulation is increasingly often being recorded. And this means that underground laboratories using even industrial equipment and chemical re-agents are operating in the country. We have repeatedly encountered such drugs—by no means manufactured by people on their kitchen table—in Baku, Moscow, and Kirov. In Leningrad alone six (!) illegal production facilities have been eliminated in the last five years.

[Illesh] IZVESTIYA has written that the USSR too is gradually being dragged into the international drug business. At any rate, "routes" have already been established across our country and we have become a transit state for drug dealers....

[Khromov] The picture is indeed complex—the scale and geography of the spread of contraband drugs and their transit across our territory are expanding. Since 1985 the customs service has stopped over 1,000 cases of drug smuggling at the state border and hundreds and hundreds of kilograms of drugs have been confiscated. You are right, they are mostly in transit. But the number of deliveries destined directly for the USSR is also growing. We have many such tip-offs from the Central Asian republics and the Far Eastern region of the USSR. Last year alone over eight kilograms of opium were confiscated from DPRK citizens here by international agreement to participate in logging work. Whereas the main channels through which drugs reached us used to be Afghanistan and Hungary, new channels have been emerging in recent years—the DPRK, the SRV, Romania, and Iran....

[Illesh] What is your forecast?

[Khromov] On the basis of our own information and data received from foreign partners, it can confidently be supposed that in the immediate future there is a danger not only of the transit but also of the introduction into the USSR of highly dangerous drugs like heroin and cocaine.

[Illesh] It is well known that Interpol has become one of the main coordinating centers in combating the international drugs business. But our country is very like a state

within which there are many small "states." I am referring to not only the republics, but also individual regions where attitudes to drug addiction differ. Moreover, and this is clearly an objective process, republic ministries of internal affairs are now becoming isolated from each other and gaining autonomy. In these conditions how can the country's criminal investigation department combat the drug business, a ramified phenomenon whose connections extend not only across oblast but also across republic and union borders? After all, drugs are produced in one place and often transported thousands of kilometers in order to be sold.

[Khromov] This is a serious problem and we are extremely worried about it. The fight against drug trafficking envisages comprehensive joint measures in producer regions and consumer regions. Only an integrated antidrug policy in all republics of the country and well organized collaboration among law enforcement organs can produce appreciable results. There is no need to prove that. It is no accident that all countries of the world are uniting in the struggle against drug addiction under the auspices of the United Nations, it is no accident that international conventions are being elaborated and ratified....

No republic in our country, I am convinced, can independently vanquish this evil. It is impossible to erect a "fence" so that Kazakhstan, say, can be walled off from Russia, or Uzbekistan from the Caucasus region. Analysis shows that Moscow's drug addicts have extensive ties in practically all Union republics. I would note that almost two-thirds of (drug-related) crime in the capital is committed by people from outside the city.

The pooling of efforts is also needed in order to close channels for the spread of drugs and destroy the raw material base. During the "Poppy-90" operation, for instance, we uncovered numerous cases of residents of the Central Asian republics sowing poppies on neighbors' territory or constantly driving out to procure hemp in the Chu Valley.... And this began to form the basis even for mutual complaints by the internal affairs organs of one republic against another. Clearly, there is a need to coordinate the militia's actions and to create joint task forces to destroy such illegal sowings.

It is impossible to run off into "your own" Internal Affairs Administration or MVD in the fight against drug addiction. You can attempt to resolve an all-Union problem only by all-Union efforts.

[Illesh] What is Moscow doing in this connection?

[Khromov] The USSR MVD is now creating a centralized interrepublic structure to combat illegal drug trafficking which will have a single countrywide database on internal and international (concerning the USSR) processes in the spread of the drug business and will elaborate joint measures to stop it. I hope that the raising of the question in these terms will be supported by all Union republics.

Tent City Raises Specter of 'Legal Nihilism'

PM3108145790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by V. Shirokov: "Tent Protest"]

[Text] Against the backdrop of the fashionable Rossiya Hotel, these polyethylene shanties look so pitiful and wretched that passers-by, guests to the capital and Muscovites, always slow down to see what it is all about.

People who feel that they have been treated unfairly—either dismissed from work on unlawful grounds, deprived of somewhere to live, or refused a pension—have temporarily set up home here. They are demanding a public enquiry into the unlawful actions committed against them.

By almost every plastic tent stands a handwritten placard informing you of its inhabitants' fortunes. Through the semi-transparent walls, whipped by a cold rain unusual for August, their simple meager lifestyle is laid bare for all to see. That is the form of protest chosen by these people. Among them are women, old people, and children....

This plastic encampment virtually under the Kremlin walls has been here for more than a week now. These people must be someone's concern, surely?

A few years ago the appearance of this tent city here would have been simply impossible: It would have been flung into trucks in a matter of moments and taken to kilometer 101 out of town together with its inhabitants. If not worse....

But today it is tolerated. Moreover, sympathy is expressed and a sincere desire shown to investigate every case: That is in fact being done by USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions, the courts, public prosecutors' offices, and people's deputies. For example, the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals held a special press conference entitled "Are the Tent Cities Necessary?"

I must say that the title gives the impression of something artificially predetermined and predisposed to the simple answer: Of course they are not necessary.

To the credit of those who organized this briefing, they were able to refrain from such an oversimplified interpretation of the problem. V. Fateyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals, immediately looked beyond the "tent" problem. It is not just a question of this specific instance, he said. It concerns the actual system of dealing with citizens' letters, complaints, applications, and appeals with which the Supreme Soviet has been literally inundated recently. We received more than a million of them last year!

Clearly the old, routine methods of dealing with them are futile. We need new approaches, and it is no accident

that the committee feels there is a need for a new law on citizens' appeals. It is possible that in one of the "lulls" the overworked USSR Supreme Soviet will manage to work discussion of this question into the agenda for the next session, especially as the draft of this law is almost ready. The crux of this document is that an appeal or application must only be examined by those organizations or institutions that are competent to deal with the problem concerned and capable of resolving it. Also important is the alternative course of action: Namely, the citizen's right to appeal to the court if the decision taken does not satisfy him.

One proviso must be made, that is true: Far from all citizens are properly respectful even of legal decisions made by the court that have been checked and double-checked by all the legal authorities. People like these are to be found, incidentally, among the inhabitants of the tent city near the Rossiya Hotel. They include a group of people whose behavior, as V. Fateyev mildly put it, does not lend itself to social regulation. In other words, for these people a decree is only a personal desire or whim. There are also some among them who are simply speculating on their fellow citizens' compassion and sympathy. One of them, who has set up a notice saying "I am a victim of the CPSU," collects handouts in a large glass jar. I must say that this "victim of the party" looks fairly well nourished....

According to R. Tikhomirov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, it is not only individual citizens who sometimes show disrespect for court decisions but entire collectives as well. These decisions are disputed, and in some places people even resort to methods of force and the threat of strike action. And strangest of all, unconstitutional actions like these sometimes lead to a stay of execution of a legal sentence. Legal nihilism in the rule-of-law state that we have begun to build is an extremely dangerous phenomenon.

What is going to happen to the tent city, however? USSR people's deputies who have looked into the cases of its inhabitants have established that all these people fall into two groups: those who disobey or dissent from legal decisions, and those whose cases are still being heard. The latter must be helped by speeding up proceedings and must be persuaded that truth will prevail and that there is no need to try to ensure this by such extravagant methods. They should not be driven away. As N. Demidov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, said, this is not a problem for the militia. It is the responsibility of the city authorities and possibly even the Union authorities to resolve. A solution must be found urgently without relying on the approaching cold weather. Especially as it is time for the children shivering behind the plastic walls of the tents—children held hostage by adults' problems—to go to school. And anyway, one simply feels sorry for them....

Newspaper Price Rises May Endanger Glasnost

PM0509113590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Your Choice, Readers!"]

[Excerpts] Subscription for newspapers and magazines for 1991 starts today.

Subscription means above all choice. A very broad spectrum of the most diverse publications is presented to the reader today. Their number is constantly growing, and each one really fights to gain the reader's attention and does everything to win him over. But there is another not unimportant factor here: Virtually the whole of the press has become more expensive owing to the fact that the relevant ministries, with the Union government's consent, sharply increased the prices of paper and postal and printing services. And although many publications give discounts to subscribers—and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, let us remember, figures among those few daily central papers which offer the most advantageous subscription terms—readers will nevertheless find it far more difficult to make their choice this time than before.

The fact is that the current subscription drive may perhaps be the most severe and anxious test of glasnost. A test not in the sense that glasnost could end and the practice of bans and coverups return. That is scarcely realistic after the entry into force of the USSR Law "On the Press and Other Mass Media." But another dilemma does arise: What kind of glasnost is it to be? Ranting and destructive in its results or constructive and serving the good of the country and the people? Glasnost's future in that sense is mainly decided by the readers. In choosing a particular publication and subscribing to it they are voting, as it were, for the way the press and glasnost are to be.

Journalists on various publications are now making their choice too, including KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's staffers. It is not somehow done to describe the "secrets" of newspaper intrigues and the creative disputes which seethe at editorial meetings and sessions of the editorial collegium, but we can assure you that KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is aware of the full urgency of the present, truly crucial period and realizes how important a clear newspaper line and well-defined position are today.

Those who read our newspaper regularly know that it has advocated and continues to advocate fundamental changes in society and the Army. But we oppose those whose credo is summed up by the expression "Down with!" We eschew the pursuit of vain short-term considerations. We want KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, while acquiring a modern look and tone, to remain KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, that is a newspaper that affirms patriotism, courage, and nobility; celebrates supreme exploits; and spurns wholesale vilification of the past and suicidal destruction of the present. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is the newspaper of the motherland's defenders, and that says it all. [passage omitted]

A newspaper's contents are its best advertisement. That is indisputable. But much also depends on how a publication is popularized and publicized. Today, on the eve of the subscription campaign, we have to say frankly that in the task of popularizing the central military newspaper we are counting on the help and support of commanders, political organs, party organizations, military commissariats, veterans' councils, military patriotic clubs, associations, and all who consider themselves allies of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. We are not, of course, talking about any kind of coercion or press-ganging of people into subscribing. Such methods belong to the distant past, but recurrences of them do as we know still occur, and to be frank do nothing but harm and discredit a newspaper. Being able to really interest people and attract their attention to particular innovations in the newspaper pages or to articles which are useful for ideological and professional growth or sometimes useful simply on an everyday level is another matter. [passage omitted]

Today one hears different forecasts about the likely results of the 1991 subscription drive. Some "prophets" hasten to proclaim the future collapse of party publications. Others state that the the now-weary people will, when the prices for printed items go up, stop reading altogether.... Of course, it is difficult to guess. But we are currently receiving quite a lot of letters in our editorial office from people who are sincerely worried about KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's future and which contain words of support and even assurances that no price rise will make them turn their back on it. It seems that for them the newspaper represents something much more than mere reading matter.

It has long been said that subscription is a political matter. Some people would perhaps like today to "depoliticize" it for, of course, their own purposes—which are again, incidentally, political.... But ultimately people—the people—decide everything.

Thus the choice is yours, dear readers.

Prosecutor's Office Discusses Medical Malpractices

PM0609085190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the rubric "In USSR Prosecutor's Office": "Right to Health Protection"]

[Text] At a collegium sitting 30 August, the USSR Prosecutor's Office examined measures to step up prosecutor's office oversight of the observance of constitutional guarantees of citizens' rights to health protection.

USSR Prosecutor General A.Ya. Sukharev, who was in the chair, stressed that the question under examination has been becoming increasingly acute lately. The prosecutor's checks revealed very gross violations of existing legislation in the pharmacy network, preventive treatment institutions, and at enterprises producing medicines and medical supplies. At the demand of the Prosecutor's Office, 2,800 health workers who have broken the law have been disciplined or suffered material penalties. In 1988-1989 alone criminal proceedings were instituted against almost 33,000 health care personnel and almost 2,000 medical industry workers. The extortion of money and gifts from patients occurs on a considerable scale in medical establishments. Last year over 1,600 health care personnel faced legal proceedings over bribetaking, extortion, theft, and abuses; and the damage resulting from their criminal activity topped 1.6 million rubles. A particular danger was posed by the criminal groups of medical personnel systematically pilfering medicines and selling them to speculators. The Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal cases over the facts that were revealed.

Cases of the unjustified refusal to sell medicines to citizens, and also their concealment in pharmacies for subsequent sale on the basis of forged prescriptions, have become widespread. In certain regions—above all the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Georgian, and Turkmen Union republics—medicines have been in the hands of unscrupulous people who have often been guided by mercenary interests. Favorable conditions for the squandering of medicines have arisen here because of the weakening of departmental oversight. Thefts and misappropriation of medicines in short supply, often running into many thousands of rubles, have become the norm.

The speakers paid special attention to the irrational use of hard currency allocated by the government to purchase medicines abroad. Imported preparations purchased for millions of foreign currency rubles and badly needed by gravely ill citizens sometimes lie around unclaimed at warehouses and depots because the departments that bought them did not manage to provide doctors with timely instructions on their use, and practicing health care personnel do not know how to use them.

The USSR prosecutor general demanded that subordinate prosecutors resolutely step up oversight over the observance of constitutional guarantees of citizens' rights to health care. In particular, it is proposed to check the completeness of the measures taken by prosecutors to reveal violations of legislation and the validity of decisions on all dismissed criminal cases against officials of health care and medical industry institutions. In view of the unabated flow of complaints of violations of citizens' rights in these departments, instructions were issued that the legality of their resolution in health care organs be carefully investigated and that effective oversight over the implementation of the legislation in question in regions affected by the Chernobyl disaster be ensured.

It was decided to inform the Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government of the results of the examination.

Economic

Gorbachev, Leaders Hold Meeting on Task Groups

PM0409145590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Text] USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev held a working meeting 3 September attended by members of the Presidential Council, the heads of the Union Government, the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and a number of central economic departments which discussed immediate urgent measures to implement the agreements reached at the session of the Federation Council and the Presidential Council on 30-31 August. We have to start acting immediately on this work, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, without waiting for the final adoption of the full-scale program of transition to the market.

The USSR president issued an instruction for the creation of a number of task groups. Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was entrusted with heading work on the urgent solution of questions to do with completion of the economic year; the gathering of the harvest; preparation for winter; and normalization of trade in food items, especially in Moscow, Leningrad, and the large industrial centers where an acute situation has arisen.

The personal responsibility of officials at all levels for concluding and carrying out the contract obligations between the regions and the center, and the need for more active work in concluding contracts between enterprises to ensure reciprocal supplies next year, were stressed. Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was put in charge of this work.

It was deemed expedient to examine as a matter of urgency the questions of collaboration between central and local bodies of power that arise in the new conditions, with the aim of ensuring legality and order. Coordination in this sphere has been entrusted to Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Presidential council.

It was noted that to achieve economic and political stability in the country there is a need, as never before, for mutual understanding, trust, and a sense of responsibility from all state and public structures and from the mass media.

Goskomstat Releases Statistics for Jan-Jul 1990

PM0509111890 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 5 Sep 90 p 2

[Unattributed reply to reader's question citing USSR State Committee for Statistics figures; under the general heading "We Answer All Your Questions"—first paragraph is a reader's question]

[Text] Everyone is talking about the crisis in our economy. But how is it manifested? After all, the enterprises are working and we are gathering in the harvest. Yet there is a shortage of goods and food products. Why?

[Signed] I. Lebidko, Moscow.

The USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] has summed up the results of the USSR's socioeconomic development in January-July 1990. We publish below a table of the main indicators:

	Actual figures January-July in billions of rubles	
	1990 (at actual prices)	1990 as percentage of 1989 (at comparable prices)
Volume of industrial output (operations, services)	523	99.4
Production of consumer goods (retail prices)	258.8	107
of which food goods	80.0	101.6
of which alcoholic beverages	32.3	111.2
of which nonfood goods	146.5	109.3
of which light industry goods	57.2	102.7
Purchases of livestock products in million tonnes:		
livestock and poultry	12.0	98
milk	49.0	103
Total housing commissioned from state capital investments, million square meters	32.8	94
Shipments (dispatch) of freight by public-use transport, billion tonnes	7.2	95
Retail trade turnover	259.1	112.0
Paid services	40.8	105.0
Population's monetary income (actual figures)	353.0	113.2

As you see, the growth in income more than exceeded all the achievements of the first half-year. Furthermore, national income produced—compared with the same period last year—fell two percent and the productivity of social labor fell 1.5 percent.

Losses of work time resulting from strikes and mass failures to report for work also had a dire effect on the state of the economy. In January-July they totaled more than 10 million person-days (in January-July last year, the figure was 3 million person-days) which is equivalent to the absence of 65,000 people from their jobs every day (compared with 23,000). Direct losses of output for this reason totaled 935 million rubles over the seven months.

New Credit Commercial Bank Releases Statement

LD0509153290 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] [no dateline as received] Follow statement by the Russian Credit Commercial Bank, distributed here:

"The Russian Credit Commercial Bank, created under the aegis of the international non-governmental fund 'Eternal Memory to Soldiers' is the world's first and only bank granting preferential credit and a higher interest rate to all participants in World War II, irrespective of their nationality, faith and country of residence.

The Russian Credit Commercial Bank considers its main task to be the economic revival of Russia: —by encouraging and supporting private initiative and free enterprise,
—by organising and developing enterprises to produce consumer goods using the most up-to-date technologies,
—by investing in advanced free science and science involving branches of economy,
—by investing in the production of structural materials and the construction of facilities on a turn-key basis by private Soviet and foreign firms,
—by promoting international economic cooperation and the broad integration of capital.

The Russian Credit Commerical Bank is planning to support any private or collective in initiatives in this direction and invites everybody, who values the interests of Russia and free international community, to cooperate.

For additional information please phone 124-01-22."

Gasoline Shortage Delays Freight Shipments

PM0509160590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Report by M. Ponomarev and V. Ivanov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Here is the promised report pegged to the Petroleum and Gas Industry Workers' Day. It deals with an acute problem. We do not want to offend anyone, but this problem must be tackled.

[Reporter] It seems that sheer will power keeps motor transport from grinding to a halt on the country's roads. The shortage of motor fuel has firmly established itself among the problems not only of private drivers but also of state transport vehicle drivers. [video shows gas station sign reading: "Maximum sale 40 liters" and lower down "No gasoline"]

Unfortunately, the demand for gasoline does not subside even on the petroleum and gas industry workers' professional holiday. Just like other anomalies in our trade network, the shortage of motor fuel has reached the capital, thwarting the plans of these drivers who were doing their best to convey their freight to its destination.

[Unidentified truck driver] This is the third gas station. I filled up in Ryazan. I've got to get to Zagorsk. That's another 200 km. I have no idea where to get fuel from.

[Reporter] Preparing this report, we scanned many newspaper articles about fuel problems. Articles keep being printed, meanwhile profiteers offer their solutions to this situation. For instance this one:

[Unidentified car driver] We pay crazy prices. In Voronezh Oblast a can of gasoline fetches 30 rubles.

[Loudspeaker voice at deserted gas station] There is no gasoline.

[Reporter] Why is this? Could it be that because of the professional holiday the gas stations are closed? No. But staff at all the gas stations where we called refused to talk to us. Car drivers having to spend the last days of their summer vacations in search of gasoline, on the other hand, were quite willing to air their problems.

Have you been looking for gasoline long?

[First unidentified driver] About an hour.

[Reporter] How many gas stations have you been to?

[First driver] This is the third one.

[Second unidentified driver] I have been looking since this morning.

[Third unidentified driver] We can't even take a short drive.

[Reporter] A running car motor could become as rare a sight as a lighted cigarette. What a gloomy prospect!

So what can be done?

[Fourth unidentified driver] Well, what can you do? Put the car in the garage, that's it. This is the end of the road.

Chita Power Station Construction Delay Noted

PM0609082890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Report by A. Bardo and N. Osipov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A year ago, "Vremya" reported on the lamentable state of affairs at the construction site of the Kharakurskaya [name as heard] GRES [State Regional Electric Power Station]—a project of major importance for the Transbaykal region. At a conference on this issue in Chita, Anatoliy Vasilyevich Kocherga, USSR deputy minister of power and electrification, stated at the time that the first power unit would be commissioned in 1991. How reliable was the word of one of the sector's leaders? Here is a reportage by our correspondents.

[Reporter] First a bit of background history. Over the past 15 years, the much vaunted "future giant of the

power generation industry in East Siberia" has become the most long-drawn-out construction project in Chita Oblast, costing the state 25 million rubles in losses. Last year it seemed that a breakthrough would be achieved. The ministry allocated additional funds to the client—the "Chitaenergo" Production Association—in view of the importance of the project and to enable it to pay builders for the work carried out. This, it seems, led the deputy minister to make his optimistic prediction.

However, judging by appearances a ceremonial meeting marking the commissioning of the first stage of the GRES is still a long way off.

So how is the work progressing?

[A. Kokhan, installation worker] What work? At this rate we will not finish even by the year 2000, not to mention 1991 as planned by Kocherga. Our deliveries are completely up the creek, if I may put it that way. They do not want to pay.

[Reporter] As is well known, any project that drags on for a long time spawns a multitude of problems—first and foremost disruption of the work schedule, leading to lower wages, leading to a high cadre turnover.

[G.I. Khaustov, deputy chief of construction administration] At present engineering and technical staffing totals 30 percent of the requirement. There is also a disastrous shortage of manual labor.

[Reporter] The most advanced project is the public amenities building. It is being built by the "Kaskad" cooperative which has been summoned to the Transbaykal region from the Ukraine. It is true that "Kaskad" has an advantage. Personal interest in the job, that very interest whose lack is so keenly felt elsewhere. Wages are not even the main problem. Some 8,000 people are living at the Yasnogorsk settlement which has sprung up during the GRES construction years. And it is no secret that they are living badly. There is not enough housing, kindergartens, and schools. People are having to wait in line for hours even for bread.

[Khaustov] In my opinion, even the client is not really interested in commissioning the station as soon as possible. It is necessary to take radical steps right now, if we are to commission the unit.

Kharkov Develops Portable Hydro-Power Station

PM0509132390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Report by V. Pidchenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The Kharkov Turboatom Association has assimilated production of an unusual miniature hydro-electric power station.

[Pidchenko] The capacity of this station is only 5 kw. However, not for nothing is it said that good things come in small packages. These mini power stations can be delivered to high-altitude pastures, to geologists working in the tayga, or to road builders. Anywhere where there is a river or a mountain stream capable of turning its blades, the machine performs well and can supply a whole village with electricity. The micro-GES [hydro-electric power station] can be easily assembled in a matter of minutes. It costs 4,500 rubles. As for the output volume, demand so far clearly exceeds supply. There is also interest in the Kharkov mini power stations in the West and in Asian countries.

In order to saturate the market with these machines, the turbine builders are currently holding talks with Italian and FRG firms about the establishment of a joint venture here in Kharkov.

Commentator Urges Adoption of Antimonopoly Laws

PM0409112490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Commentary by V. Romanyuk: "Against Monopolism"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on measures to demonopolize the national economy. What it had in mind was that the complexity of the perestroyka processes taking place in the economy and the depth of their contradictions in the transitional period demand immediate decisions on the demonopolization of production and of the running of the national economy.

A paradoxical situation has come about in our economy: As enterprises' rights widen and severe restrictions are placed on administrative organs' potent authority, monopolism is becoming an increasingly prominent feature. It manifests itself both in enterprises' group egotism and in violations of contract commitments, and in the increasing frequency of barter. Emergency transformations had to be effected in the legal, economic, and organizational spheres.

As for the monopolization of production, it is truly unprecedented here. Many examples of this could be entered in the Guinness Book of Records. A number of enterprises have a 50 to 100 percent share of Union production. The "Bakkonditsioner" and Yerevan "Nairit" associations as well as the Voroshilovgrad Diesel Locomotive Construction Plant are dominant in the means of production market. According to a survey conducted by the USSR State Committee for Statistics in 1989, of 340 groups of industrial products 209 were produced at enterprises commanding 50 percent of the Union market in the particular group, and 109 were produced at enterprises monopolizing 90 percent or more of the market.

How do you destroy monopolism? One of those who drew up the document—L. Batalin, deputy section chief at the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform—said that enterprises function in different modes depending on the degree of monopolization of the market. Those that have 35 percent of the

market are allowed to float free, so to speak. A differentiated approach is adopted in relation to those that have between 35 and 70 percent of the market. Indeed, when shelves are empty monopolism is not bound to prevent other producers from appearing in the market. But if a monopolist has maximum economic power in the market and is preventing competition from appearing, then urgent measures are needed. Enterprises whose share of the market exceeds 70 percent definitely rank as monopolists. In order to eliminate their dominant position, it is suggested that recourse be taken to deamalgamation and the creation of competing enterprises and nonstate structures—cooperatives and small enterprises.

Then there is a purely administrative measure: An antimonopoly committee is to be set up under the USSR Council of Ministers. Its job will be to implement measures to develop competition and eliminate monopoly trends. The committee will carry out antimonopoly appraisals of major investment projects and a comprehensive analysis of the state of the markets and competition on them. This organ—probably around 100 people will be involved—is patently a directive organ. For breaching antimonopoly legislation an enterprise can be fined up to 500,000 rubles [R] and officials up to R1,000. The committee is entitled to confiscate part of the unwarranted income obtained as a result of monopoly activity or unscrupulous competition in the market.

Is the government reaching for the administrative cudgel again, then? But the "rules of the game" that have been adopted in the world envisage even tougher measures to combat monopolism. In the United States, for example, this is done by the Justice Department's antitrust division (650 people) and the Federal Trade Commission (more than 1,000 people); Japan has a commission for fair dealing; France has a council for competition. But how do you overcome the monopolism of giants like Ford, General Motors, Fiat, and IBM? Apparently, they do not monopolize markets—there is a multitude of regulators. The safest situation, from the monopolization viewpoint, is one where a dozen or more firms are operating in the market. In this case the biggest of them is not entitled to hold more than 31 percent of the total volume of sales, two cannot hold more than 44 percent, three 54 percent, and four 64 percent. If the ratio is not observed the state will either restrict a firm's involvement in the market or introduce economic sanctions. Our legislation has not yet attained such standards, but a step has been taken in that direction.

And not only in the production sphere, but also in the management sphere. At last central economic organs and ministries and departments have been relieved of functions involving the direct monitoring of the implementation of current tasks and the ongoing management of enterprises. Ministries will no longer have responsibility for the fulfillment of contracts! Thus, the government resolution adopted nearly 25 years ago, which gave the ministries responsibility for fully satisfying the country's needs for the products of a particular sector, has ended its departmental life.

Concerning all the other spheres—trade, material and technical supply, scientific-technical development, and investments—one could make the general comment that the demonopolization of all these spheres is geared to promoting the development of a market infrastructure. The supply and marketing organizations of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply are to become independent commercial organizations; in this way the entire vertical superstructure will be dismantled, commodity and stock markets will be formed, and nonstate intermediate wholesale and retail enterprises will be created.

For the first time competition has received support at state level. Its development will be aided by measures to eliminate imbalances in the consumer sphere, to expand production diversification, and to set up parallel enterprises. The abandonment of monopoly structures in all areas of economic life will also affect the financial and credit sphere, in particular the insurance business.

There are many fine words in the document and the government's familiar yen for directives and orders features strongly. But what is needed today is not levers to exert pressure but real incentives. In order to demonopolize managerial structures and develop live competition in the consumer market. Let us stress, however, that the present government resolution is only a working document of a transitional period. It will operate until antimonopoly legislation is adopted. And the urgent need to adopt it is obvious.

Agricultural

Agricultural Developments Outlined for 29 Aug-5 Sep

LD0609033290

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 29 August-5 September, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parenthesis at the end of each item.

29 August

No significant developments reported

30 August

According to data of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, on 27 August grain was cut on an area of 50 million hectares, which represents 59 percent of the area occupied by it. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT)

By today, harvest has been threshed on a third of the grain producing areas of Kazakhstan. Practically all

southern oblasts finished harvesting. The state and collective farms of Kokchetav, North Kazakhstan, Kustanay, and Tselinograd Oblasts started the sale of grain to the state; strong and hard varieties of wheat are rated at the highest standard. (2310)

31 August

The millet harvest has begun in the Saratov oblast where 600,000 hectares is sown under this crop, the largest area under millet in Russia. The harvest seems to be good, with a yield of 20 to 30 quintals per hectare. (0900)

The harvest in the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan is proceeding with difficulty due to heavy rains. A million hectares of grain crops has been cut, but only one-fifth has been threshed. The Kustanay Oblast is suffering from fuel shortages as are the Uralsk and Aktyubinsk Oblasts. (0900)

In the Altay Kray, 20,000 combine harvesters as well as 10,000 reaping-machines and motor vehicles take part in harvesting. At the present moment, grain has been mowed on 1.5 million hectares, which amounts to one-third of the corn-field; fewer than 1 million hectares have been threshed. Fodder procurement workers of Kazakhstan gathered in grass from 25 million hectares, which amounts to 80 percent of all agricultural land which is to be mowed. Thirteen million tonnes of hay and 7.5 million tonnes of haylage have been prepared for public sector animal husbandry. (1300)

1 September

No significant developments reported

2 September

The farmers of Lipetsk Oblast fulfilled the state order for selling bread-grain to the state today. On average they received 28 quintals per hectare of high quality grain. The harvest was gathered in time due to sensible use of economic incentives. (0600)

The weather has been hindering grain harvesting in the Volga area, Kazakhstan, and Siberia. In the country generally, harvesting of potatoes is only beginning; flax has only been harvested on 36 percent of the area, and vegetables on 16 percent. Maize for grain and silage has been harvested on 23 percent of the land. As far as winter crop sowing is concerned, some 25 million hectares—62 percent of planned sown acreage—of land have been prepared, while winter crops have already been sown on 6 million hectares, including 5.5 million hectares to grain crops. Some 10 million hectares of land have been ploughed for spring sowing. (1300)

3 September

A tense situation is currently in Lugansk Oblast. Agricultural workers are expecting a rich harvest of 467,000 tonnes of vegetables, but there is a shortage of workers. Over 10,000 people work in the fields daily, 7,000 of them are town folk, but this appears to be insufficient. (1100)

Orel Oblast fulfills contractual obligations for grain sales to the state. In Belorussia, 86.2 percent of grains and pulses have been gathered in. (1100)

4 September

The collective and state farms of Altay Kray have fulfilled the state order for the supply of rye. Elevators have received a total of 100,000 tonnes. (0900)

Krasnoyarsk Kray mechanizers have already threshed more than 1,000,000 tonnes of grain, which is 500,000 tonnes more than this time last year. (1100)

The year's plan for sales of bread grain to the state has been completed in Uralsk Oblast: more than 1,050,000 tonnes have gone to elevators. (1100)

5 September

No significant developments reported

Stroyev Inspects Kazakhstan, Kurgan Harvest Areas

904B0282A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 18 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by G. Yevstigeyev: "The Hard-Won Grain of the Virgin Land"]

[Text] Tselinograd-Kokchetav-Kustanay-Kurgan—From 9 through 13 August Ye.S. Stroyev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, traveled through northern Kazakhstan and Kurgan Oblast. At meetings with grain growers of the kray as well as party and soviet leaders they looked for solutions to the main problem of the day: How to harvest the large grain crop grown on the virgin land without losses.

The virgin land has presented us with an unprecedented grain harvest this year. While in ordinary years the productivity of grain crops here was considered adequate at the level of 11 quintals per hectare, the 1990 harvest promises to produce a 1.5 times, and in places even twice as much. Taking into account the immense planted areas—more than 12 million hectares—it is possible to obtain 30 million tons of grain here. And this is the most valuable in terms of its bread baking qualities, the kind that is used to improve flour in all regions of the country. Therefore everyone without exception should be concerned about the problems of the virgin land.

But what must be done in order to harvest the virgin land grain without losses? A candid discussion in the labor collectives; the party organizations; and the party committees of the kolkhozes [collective farms], sovkhozes [state farms], rayons, and oblasts of Kazakhstan; followed immediately by a discussion of the results of the meetings in the party and economic aktivs, earmarked

the country's main problem: a shortage of technical equipment and people. Even when all the region's combines and trucks are completely ready for work and the people are mobilized, neither in previous years nor certainly this year have we been able to get by without outside help. Today it is not so much a matter of abundance of grain as of the catastrophically low level of material and technical support for the harvest. The situation is especially critical with respect to batteries for combines and tires for the trucks.

V. Melashenko, chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] who participated in the meetings, found it difficult to give thorough answers concerning the causes of the shortages that have been plaguing the grain growers. Many of them do not fully understand the position of the center with respect to certain monopolistic producers of equipment needed in rural areas. For example, the Kama Automotive Plant has recently been ignoring even the funded deliveries to agricultural enterprises of large trucks which are so necessary now during the harvest. For this is the machine that can significantly help in the delivery of grain from the threshing floors to the elevators. The military trucks that are arriving have small cargo capacities. The automotive battalion equipped with GAZ-66, ZIL-157, and ZIL-131 vehicles assigned to Kustanay Oblast has an overall cargo capacity of no more than 1,000 tons, while 23,000-28,000 tons of grain are threshed each day.

There were also many questions for M. Timoshishin, first deputy chairman of the State Commission for Food and Procurements of the USSR Council of Ministers. The government is adopting a decision to help Kazakhstan with combine operators from other regions, but they are dictating their own conditions in the local areas. Gorkiy Oblast, for example, requested that 50 tons of grain be sold for each person who was temporarily assigned there. The Crimea demanded free of charge five percent of the grain threshed by each combine operator. Many of the local authorities simply are not meeting the demands of the center. Barely one-third of the 7,700 combine operators requested by Kazakhstan showed up. The justifications frequently amount to the notion that the leasing collectives will not send their own comrades.

Many farm leaders do not fully understand the policy for paying hard currency for above-plan sale of valuable wheat. Judging from last year's experience it was simply impossible to use the currency that was earned. Special trips to Moscow showed a sad picture. It turns out that it is necessary to pay five to six times more in rubles for the imported equipment. The situation is not yet any better this year either. The promised opening of hard currency accounts in local agroindustrial banks is being delayed.

In turn, there were also reproaches against the people from Kazakhstan. Previous years with poor crops made many people not very concerned about full technical support. For example, less harvesting equipment was ordered. It was largely because of this, incidentally, that the Taganrog combine plant was closed. They did not arrange proper storage of combine batteries, as a result of which an immense number of them is needed now. But still the main complaints about unsatisfactory support for the harvest were justified. For example in Kustanay Oblast, in past years that were not so productive, there were 7,000-8,000 railroad cars in reserve. Now there are only 87.

The contradictory nature of the various kinds of crops raised on virgin land can only partially justify the center's reluctance to render aid to the republic. The drought at the beginning of the summer and then the prolonged rains made it impossible to estimate precisely the potential of the grain fields. Only after the beginning of the swelling of the spike of the so-called "lateral stock" [podgon] of the bushed-out plants did it become clear that there would be a harvest unprecedented in the entire history of the assimilation of the virgin land.

The "higher mathematics" of agronomical studies in the region, of course, is with the Barayev workers and the Kurgan Scientific Research Institute of Grain Farming, which became the head enterprise of the Kukuruza scientific production system. But the practical workers are keeping up with them, for example, such as those on the Druzhba kolkhoz in Ketovskiy Rayon, Kurgan Oblast. The director there is Aleksandr Danilovich Nemirov, an ardent adherent of leasing relations in rural areas. The number of machine operators on the farm was reduced by one-third after the introduction of the innovation. Animal husbandry workers here have feeds during any given year and this is why meat production is steadily increasing.

The subject of leasing and the multifaceted nature of the rural economy was discussed in all the meetings Ye.S. Stroyev had with the farmers. And this is no accident. Many of the foul-ups before the beginning of the harvest in Northern Kazakhstan could have been avoided by a radical restructuring of production relations within the collectives. But the evaluations of leasing and the course toward market relations were not perceived the same way everywhere. There were variations in the evaluations—from full support to an equal degree of rejection. And the ones who were positive about leasing were those who had already tried it out in practice. But setting the one form of management off against the other, which certain progressive zealots succeeded in doing, will not lead to anything good. Take farming again. Why should the kolkhoz or sovkhoz not become the sponsor in the development of peasant farms? The potential here is enormous. In Kazakhstan, for example, they have begun to render aid to people who keep livestock and the number of head of cattle kept by the population has increased by 400,000 head. As long as the interest in peasant labor has not disappeared in the rural areas it is necessary to support it in all ways.

Dealing with the market is more complicated. Will this not lead to an even greater impoverishment of the rural areas? After all, the monopolies of industries producing agricultural equipment everywhere could simply nullify

the efforts for strengthening the agricultural economy. Suffice it to recall the recent elimination of the Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building, which was done without taking into account the opinions of the agricultural workers themselves. As a result, the construction of 40 plants was halted and six of them were assigned different profiles. The rural areas will not receive the earmarked annual output of 180,000 tractors from Yelabuga.

But there is no alternative to the market. In a meeting in Kokchetav, Ye.S. Stroyev said that opponents of it should be asked this question: Has the peasantry really been flourishing in our country up to now? For a half century we have taken everything from them, leaving nothing in return. And the mythical 127-billion-ruble [R] indebtedness of the rural areas is actually covered by more than R400 billion. We have not been adhering to the policy used throughout the world whereby any increase in prices of material and technical resources automatically increases the prices of agricultural products as well.

During the trip there were many candid conversations about the current role of the CPSU in the socioeconomic restructuring of society. Is the activity of Communists in solving the current economic problems justified? "Any political party," said Ye.S. Stroyev in a meeting in Kustanay, "if it gets off the track of solving the essential problems of the people, ceases to be a party of the people. Some people seem to be trying to turn us into an educational organization which deals only with issues within the party. Today, when the CPSU has renounced its authority and openly taken a candid look at its real position in the system of political, economic, and moral coordinates, it has become clear that it has made many mistakes and that Communists have largely forgotten how to prove that they are right; and in some places, under the pressure of criticism of the past and the inflammation of passions, have become confused and taken up defensive positions.

In order to maintain the party's leading role we must win the battle of ideas. The main thing today is to promptly discern the mood of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, and to be able to express their hopes and interests. Regardless of how events unfold, the workers must know that the party will uphold until the end the principles of social justice and the social ideals with which the worker movement was initially imbued.

The constructive and businesslike discussion of the aspirations and concerns of the farmers before the beginning of the most responsible field campaign was a confirmation of the unwavering attention of the CPSU to the peasant issue. The results of the trip were discussed in the CPSU Central Committee. Following this the necessary measures have already been taken with the goal of providing immediate aid to the virgin land area.

Rocket Troops Aid Volgograd Oblast Harvest

90UM0852A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents Lieutenant Colonel A. Plotnikov and Captain S. Pyatakov: "Cossacks, Rocket Troops, and Tomorrow's Bread"—first three paragraphs are enclosed in box at head of item]

[Text] [Begin boxed portion] An unprecedented harvest in the country's fields required that an emergency situation be declared in a number of oblasts. In accordance with a decision of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Defense dispatched another 10,000 cargo vehicles with drivers from the motor vehicle fleet to transport grain and other agricultural products. Military commissariats called up reserves. Seventy military vehicle battalions were formed, but even this turned out to be inadequate—an additional 3,000 cargo vehicles with military drivers will be sent to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

"The Army has always lived in a united spirit with the people and continues to do so. It is always prepared to assist in difficult times. Our soldiers are working to reap the harvest not because they are ordered to do so—it is an impulse from the heart," stated Colonel General V. Rodin, chief of the Political Administration of Strategic Rocket Troops and member of the Military Council. "The best thing would be to see for yourself...."

Our correspondents went to Volgograd Oblast where the rocket troops are working. Here is their first report. [end boxed portion]

On the road to Volgograd Oblast we expected we would see a horrible sight—unharvested fields with decaying crops, overwrought rayon leaders, exhausted battalion and company commanders and platoon leaders in the virgin lands, and dirtied soldiers in military vehicles damaged by the country roads. When our An-72 landed in Marinovka, however, we were met by an individual entirely unlike the images we had conceived. This was Lieutenant Colonel V. Morozov, political section chief of Operations Group No. 1. His trousers were pressed and he was clean shaven. His UAZ [Ulyanovsk Motor Vehicle Plant vehicle] driver also presented a neat appearance.

An hour later we were in Surovikino and met others like Morozov, composed and without circles under inflamed eyes due to lack of sleep—Colonel V. Yurinev, motor vehicle battalion commander, and V. Buylov, deputy rayispolkom [rayon executive committee] chairman. We did not give up—"Let us see what is going on in the companies and platoons." We did not have to wait, and set out soon after.

Vladimir Mikhaylovich Buylov accompanied us as far as the border with Kletskiy Rayon. On the way he stated the following:

"In past years the people of Surovikino reaped a harvest of 17 to 18 centners per hectare. This year they have taken 24, and already delivered 90,000 tons of grain to the state. At the same time they collected the grain from the fields in 20 days. That has never happened in my memory. The reason for it is that the rocket troops came to us this time—disciplined, organized, hard-working people."

"Judge for yourselves," he continued. "Battalion commander Yurinev arrived here about two days after we in the rayon found out the Army was coming to help us. Right behind him came an echelon of soldiers and equipment. And work began immediately, without any fuss—conscientious, precision work. Our Cossacks respect the rocket troops for this."

We later became convinced of the truth of his words, especially regarding the respect of the local population for the soldiers. It became clear fairly quickly that this attitude toward the rocket troops was not just due to their intense work. Wherever they were—on the threshing floor, in the field, on the grain elevator—they always appeared neat and in uniform. Politeness was the norm of behavior. The kolkhoz [collective farm] people know many of them by first name. The servicemen lavished attention on the older people—cut wood, carried water, put up fences. In addition, they straightened up the graves of those who had died in war—there are many around. And the virgin land workers honor local customs. And so the harmonious work of Cossacks and rocket troops for tomorrow's bread was carried out in a whirlwind.

And now, on the road to the neighboring rayon, Buylov lamented the fact that Colonel Yurinev's soldiers will leave the rayon, that such work horses are needed here, and that the challenge banner of the oblispolkom [oblast executive committee] and Volgograd agro-industry was not awarded the motor vehicle battalion for nothing. "Eh!" he exclaimed. "Then we would store up fodder for future use. But now we will just labor until the snow comes. We are losing half the fodder crops." The reason is well known—not enough equipment or manpower. The Surovikino people have 200,000 hectares of arable land and 56,000 head of cattle.

"Well, can a state of emergency again be declared at the right time?" we asked.

"That's of no use," Vladimir Mikhaylovich replied. "The toil of harvesting is the same as in previous years. Our rayon has felt a difference only in the fact that the rocket troops came to help. There is more order."

Then we drove into the territory of "Kletskiy" Sovkhoz [State Farm]. Vasiliy Makeyevich Arzhanov is the director here, and Major A. Galushko's platoon is helping to gather the harvest. Military drivers transported, as we already know, 9,719 tons of sovkhoz agricultural products during the month of July.

We are introduced to Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Galushko and immediately move to the threshing floor, from which the major's subordinates are hauling grain to the elevator. Threshing floor supervisor Boris Mikhaylovich Setkin names the best military drivers from memory—Pavel Nesvitskiy, Yuriy Goncharov, Sergey Leshchenko.

"Yes, they are all excellent workers," he adds. "In previous years they would send us drivers from the reserves. So we called them 'the partisans.' The things they didn't think of! But these rocket troops are like bees. The elevator is 60 kilometers away, and some of them make five trips a day.... That's something!"

"A portion of the threshing floor grain will be stored under shelter, the rest in stacks on the ground."

"And if it rains?", we ask the manager.

"The water will flow down the stacks," he explains. "The grain will get soaked two fingers deep.... It will winnow." Is this so? But we do not get into a discussion. We head for the elevator.

The platoon leader knows the road to the grain collection point like the back of his hand. He goes there several times a day.

"Hardened, no-nonsense peasants work in the KAZ's [Kamskiy Motor Vehicle Plant large-capacity cargo vehicle]," he explains. "For them, every haul means good money, whereas my young guys are inexperienced, and are working for practically nothing. Sure sometimes they stand idly around the silo, and here they have to be prompted."

A KAZ with trailer drove up to us at the silo. Driver A. Karpenko has hauled 23 tons of grain. In the best case, a military driver delivers 4.5 tons.

"Don't you burn more fuel than do business?" we ask Major Galushko.

"The grain is more expensive," he replies confidently. "It covers all costs."

They take in five categories of grains at the elevator and pay accordingly—from 200 to 800 rubles per ton. Most often the collective and state farms receive a minimum—the grain is low quality. Why? This will be discussed later.

We arrived at the platoon's location at twilight. But we were able to see how the rocket troops were set up here. Quite frankly, we haven't seen anything like it at harvest-reaping. They set up sleeping arrangements in the bays of special Moscow Machine Plant vehicles, long ago decommissioned. True the beds are triple-deckers, but the rain will not soak them and they are warm. It costs nothing to move such homes on wheels to a new location—they have, incidentally, been moved over many years from one virgin lands location to another. These vehicles have a Lenin room with television, files of newspapers, and table games.

"But do the soldiers spend time here?" we ask the platoon leader.

"Of course," he replies. "Because after work they turn in their vehicles to the maintenance section and relax."

We tried the food the soldiers eat as well. Tasty, and good portions.

"The local residents feed them too," Major Galushko stated.

Well once a soldier has had a full meal, thanks to the care of his commanders and the Don Cossacks, he can relax a bit and be ready for a good day's work in the morning.

Official Stresses Need for Agricultural Investment

LD0509134390 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Soviet agriculture needs heavy, including foreign, investment to pull itself out of crisis, Aleksey Yemelyanov, deputy chief of the parliamentary committee on farming, told TASS.

The money, he said, is needed to promote new forms of economic management such as family and private farms, cooperatives, joint ventures and leasehold projects.

"We should fight for land and work out a mechanism to allow anyone willing to get it in the normal way and be its master," Yemelyanov said.

He also stressed the need for small-size machines for private and cooperatively-owned farms, identifying this as one area in which foreign partners could help on a mutually advantageous basis.

Another area in which they could profitably invest is farm produce processing, Yemelyanov said. He said that, in contrast to the present, farmers before the 1917 revolution always processed harvests on the spot because long-distance transportation inevitably involves losses.

The third sphere of cooperation identified by him was construction from local building materials.

"Western countries can now grant credits not just to our state through the Gosagroprom [State Agro-Industrial Committee] superministry or the Ministry of Agriculture but, through new forms of economic management, directly to producers. This is important because producers feel real responsibility for how efficiently they use the money," Yemelyanov said.

Scientific

'Mir' Cosmonauts Continue Space Experiments

LD0409181690 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov continued experiments aboard the Mir space complex.

Under a programme of space materials science, the crew made another smelting on the Gallar Unit. During the smelting, which lasted 240 hours, they received another high-grade monocrystal of gallium arsenide, a semiconductor material.

The cosmonauts are today performing astrophysical experiments with the Maria magnetic spectrometer.

One of the task of this research is to determine a possible link between the intensity of flows of charged high-energy particles in near-earth space and seismic activity on the earth.

The Mir space complex is functioning normally. The cosmonauts are healthy and feel well.

Official Cited on Profitability of Space Missions

LD0509181290 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—For the first time in the history of Soviet space exploration, a tangible profit could be obtained as a result of work by the sixth space expedition on board the Mir space station.

The profit, earned by Anatolly Solovev and Aleksandr Balandin, might reach 13 million roubles. Specialists believe that the current expedition by Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov will be no less profitable.

The sixth expedition took over 2,000 photographs of the earth's surface and the ocean. Each of them cost some 1,000 U.S. dollars on the world market.

Nobody has yet transferred money to the account of the Glavkosmos for the "space products," and the sum of 13 million U.S. dollars is hypothetical, head of the Soviet Glavkosmos Aleksandr Dunayev said.

Eight dark crystals with perfectly smooth surfaces, grown in space, could adorn a ring of any fairy-tale king. A collection of semiconductor meterials, obtained at the Gallar and Krater plants on board the Mir station, will be used in new technology. Specialsts believe some of them will revolutionise microelectronics. As for the crystals' price, each one costs some 500,000 roubles.

The new Kristall technological module, included in the Mir station, will help smelt a considerable amount of a

composite semiconductor material, which is expected to repay the expense on the module and is launch.

Unfortunately, industrial production in space has yet to reach the level at which it can help repay expenses on manned flights. Foreign specialists believe that a kilogram of composite material, obtained in space, should cost from one to 3.5 million U.S. dollars on the world market.

Competitiveness of Electronics Industry Viewed

PM0509163590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Report by N. Gluzovaya and V. Stepanenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] It is no secret that we are lagging behind many countries in the sphere of computer equipment. We do not produce enough of this equipment, and its quality and reliability frequently leave much to be desired. Therefore computers, VDUs [expansion unknown], and software produced in many countries are flooding our internal market. It would seem that a saturation of the market should be cause for joy. The question arises, however: Will this not kill off our own electronics industry if it is unable to stand up to the competition. This is the current state of affairs:

[Reporter] Watching these people displaying such keen interest—I am referring to the participants in an interrepublic conference of computer users, that is potential buyers of the computer systems produced by the Kiev Elektronmash Production Association; and they are knowledgeable people, experts in their fields, aware of what they are paying for—I asked myself: Are our computers and other computer equipment really so bad? There seems to be plenty of it.

[A.A. Georgiyevskiy, Soviet-Austrian joint venture] In our studies of the personal computer market we have not come across any personal computers superior to these.

[V.S. Kamanin, Ukrainian SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic) State Committee for Statistics] We are interested in the No. 1810.13 system. It can be described as a personal computer. It is rather large as to its dimensions, but its cost...

[Reporter] Can this equipment compete with the equipment which has currently flooded our market?

[Unidentified person] It is highly compatible with IBM personal computers.

[Reporter] Does this mean that we can gear ourselves to our own computer equipment?

[Same person] Of course.

[Reporter] Will you buy this equipment?

[V.S. Cherevatyy, Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Construction] Yes, we will buy it.

[Reporter] After all, it can be bought with our own rubles.

[Cherevatyy] First, it can be bought with our own rubles, and second, it means spare parts, consultations, and so forth...

[Reporter] Nonetheless, the electronics industry workers are perhaps the first to feel the cold breath of tough competition in conditions of the approaching market. Direct protection of our internal market is necessary. As for the lack of competitiveness of our computer equipment, it does exist of course. It does not sell abroad, and the industry alas has no foreign currency resources of its own.

[V.I. Mova, director general of the Elektronmash Production Association] The state programs for the development of computer equipment and information science in the country have not been fulfilled. They were disrupted both inside the country and within CEMA. If the present situation and attitude toward our computer equipment industry are allowed to continue, we will simply cease to exist. We have developed three new systems, but we cannot start producing them because of the absence of Soviet-made basic components. It is absolutely essential right now to find the means to purchase the deficient basic components.

[Reporter] Should we have an electronics industry or not? This question must be answered without delay. If we decide that the answer is no, what may happen in real life will be what happened in the fairy tale when a mighty tree was cut down just before it was about to bear golden apples.

New Ka-32S Helicopters Used in Arctic Shipping

LD0409220490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent V. Anichkin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The Murmansk Shipping Line has begun to employ a new helicopter, the Ka-32S.

[Anichkin] This is a maritime version of the helicopter, and it has replaced the Mi-2 which still accompanies vessels on the routes of the northern shipping lane. It is equipped with modern navigation apparatus and an on-board computer which makes it possible to improve the quality of ice reconnaissance and the escort of vessels in the Arctic night, and also to enhance flight safety. Of comparatively small dimensions, it can lift freight of up to five tonnes and help vessels working in the Arctic unload on an unequipped shore. There is good maneuverability, and it has powerful, freely rotating searchlights. All of this will allow the new helicopter to assist sailors efficiently. The new helicopters have already proved their worth at work. Here is one of them, working above the icebreaker Sovetskiy Soyuz, providing sailors with very valuable information to correctly escort the

vessel through the ice. [video shows exterior shot of helicopter in flight, and also interior, with closeups of navigation instrument panel and overhead switches]

Military

Gorbachev Decree on Legal Protection for Military

LD0509185690 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev has issued a decree "on measures to strengthen social and legal protection of the military."

The decree, issued today, says Soviet servicemen do not receive sufficient legal protection, the organisation of their everyday life and service conditions have many flaws, educational work with the personnel leaves much to be desired and disciplinary measures have been distorted.

"Servicemen assigned tasks to maintain public [word indistinct], especialy in regions with complex interethnic relations have increasingly often become victims of physical assault," the decree points out.

The president demanded that the defence and interior ministers and the USSR Security Committee chairman take urgent measures to strengthen discipline and order in the Armed Forces and heighten the responsibility of military staffs for personnel safety.

The president points to the need to envisage measures to ensure legal guarantees of personal immunity of servicemen when working out bills on the military service.

The decree contains instructions to other ministries and departments concerning measures to ensure the exercise of servicemen's constitutional rights and to strengthen their social and legal protection.

Air Defense Forces Shoot Down Balloon Over Kola

PM0609080290 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by stringer V. Magas under the rubric "Incidents": "How a UFO Was Downed"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] On 4 September this year our newspaper published a TASS correspondent article on the UFO seen 2 September by residents of Murmansk. But it turns out that the UFO was also being observed by the country's air defense servicemen. Our stringer reports what happened next.

As it approached the coast the spherical UFO came within range of air defense surface-to-air missile complexes. But it was not possible for them to open fire to destroy the "uninvited guest" because the target was over a heavily populated area. Therefore the superior command (and it had been receiving regular reports from the moment contact was made) ordered that observations be continued....

The UFO hovered over Murmansk and Severomorsk at a height of up to 29,000 meters without emitting any radio signals. By the morning of 3 September it had moved deep into the Kola Peninsula, and it was then that fighter squadron commander Captain First Class I. Sdatchenko was ordered to destroy the target. In actual fact, it was not a UFO at all but a balloon. The experienced pilot carried out the mission successfully—the balloon was destroyed at 0806 hours north of the town of Kovdor.

According to the pilot the balloon was enormous—up to 40 to 50 meters in diameter. This refuted the previous suggestion that it was an ordinary weather balloon. After the balloon burst, the containers it was carrying landed with the aid of automatically deployed parachutes. Border guards have passed them on to a scientific research institute to be studied. So far just one thing is known: The "UFO" was produced abroad.

Kiev 'Deserters' Urged To Return to Units

PM0509155590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent M. Odinets: "Not Becoming Deserters"]

[Text] Kiev, 2 Sep—Ukrainian republic newspapers have published an appeal from the Red Banner Kiev Military District Military Council to servicemen, relatives and friends of servicemen, labor collectives, and state and social organizations.

The fact is that, following the publication of the Declaration on the Ukraine's State Sovereignty which stated that Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] citizens will do their military service, as a rule, on the republic's territory and cannot be used for military purposes outside of the republic without the consent of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, certain young soldiers in various garrisons around the country incited by letters from home decided to unilaterally abandon their service and return home.

Many such deserters have turned up in Lvov and Kiev. Fearing serious punishment for breaking the law on military service, a group of city mothers picketed the headquarters of Kiev Military District. Representatives of the district's Political Directorate explained to those present that their sons had violated the military oath and would have to be brought to account.

"We appeal to fathers and mothers," the military district appeal states, "and to all relatives and friends of servicemen not to encourage them to abandon their service and leave their military units. Help those who committed an illegal act in a moment of weakness to return

to their units. We all want to see your sons as courageous and honest people who are just and reliable in friendship."

Estonia's Military Service Law Generates Conflict

90UM0864A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by V. Simonenkov: "Contrary to Union Law"]

[Text] Any political or legal enactment acquires force only when it is confirmed by practical actions. We would like to believe that the 12 August Declaration of the USSR President is just such a document. It states clearly and concisely: "...the assertion by the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet that the presence of USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the republic violates its sovereignty and cannot be acknowledged as lawful." And so the conclusions should conform to this. But for the time being.... For the time being, problems of the Soviet Armed Forces' presence in the territory of Estonia, like questions of conscripting youth for them from the Estonian SSR, have acquired a sharply politicized nature. Attempts are being made to attach the label of occupier to the military.

"On this note," Colonel N. Redko, political department chief of the republic military commissariat, told me, "we basically hear the official policy of the republic leadership."

And we are not just hearing it. On 15 March of this year the republic Law "On Labor Service in the Estonian SSR" was ratified, under guise of which the spring call-up was essentially disrupted. It would be funny, were it not so sad, to say that the number of individuals called up for service, according to data of the republic military commissariat, is not even reaching half the figure planned. We can say that those who have gone through the rayon military commissariats are volunteers. And the others?

In the Pyarnu Rayon Military Commissariat I was shown a notice with the following content: "In accordance with the Estonian SSR Law on Labor Service, the citizens named below have submitted application on entry into labor service, and call up to active-duty service is suspended in their regard." This was followed by their names. And an entire file of such notices has accumulated in the military commissariat. Local authorities in the uyezds, according to the words of one person I spoke with, made the decision not to assist the military commissariats in Army conscription although this is stipulated in the USSR Law on Universal Military Obligation.

And what is the military commissariat to do in such a situation? Four people deal with call-up matters in that same Pyarnu Rayon Military Commissariat. They must cover approximately 40,000 people. And you have to take into account the fact that farmsteads predominate in the rayon. It is not difficult to figure out that under such conditions it is practically impossible for the military commissariats themselves to manage. You see the result. According to Lieutenant Colonel V. Surkov, Pyarnu Rayon military commissar, whereas in autumn of last year only a handful of individuals from rural areas of the rayon refused to serve in the Army, the spring call-up on the other hand assembled handfuls of individuals who did put on the military uniform. The rest preferred alternative service.

What does this amount to?

I spoke with U. Aare, uyezd soviet deputy, on this question. He is the person who deals with matters of alternative service in the rural area. His views do not completely coincide with those proclaimed by official republic organs. I trust I will not do him any harm in publishing my article, although I have serious doubts as to support for pluralism in the republic—there are grounds for this. In Aare's opinion, every young man must serve in the Army. And he is not against service being performed in the Soviet Armed Forces since he does not consider them occupation forces. But he believes that alternative service is also necessary. How is this structured presently? The first call-up for it has already taken place. Four hundred sixty-three applications have come in. Three hundred forty-six people have gone to the medical board. Those who do not report do not bear any responsibility—it is not envisaged by republic law. Those who have begun to serve work where they did prior to conscription. A monthly deduction of 50 rubles [R] goes from their pay into the Pyarnu Uyezd fund. Each year youths may be called for two-month assemblies where they undergo training courses under extreme conditions. They do not pay for this program. The system of notification is through the volost.

True there is still no guarantee that after serving on the "labor front" a young man will not be called up for active-duty military service. Here, as they say, serve at your own risk, lad.

According to the law, labor service is not subordinate to the USSR Armed Forces. Obliged to perform it are citizens permanently residing in the Estonian SSR between the ages of 18 and 27, on the register as conscripts, who cannot serve in the Army for significant reasons. You can interpret "significant reasons" however you please. As a result, the lack of specificity in the republic law has led to a situation in which people have not entered the Army because they simply do not like it.

Accountability for evasion of military service is not yet envisaged. The military commissariats are in no condition to prevent all of this in the political situation which has resulted, directed toward effecting a split with the Union and ignoring Union laws, although they are being called upon to seek new forms of work.

We note that this is not all. Beginning 1 July, the republic government has ceased financing the military commissariats, again contrary to Union laws. The military commissariat of the republic does not even appear in the

new listing of republic institutions. But the bill has already arrived at the Pyarnu Rayon Military Commissariat for leasing the building—R627 40 kopeks.

The Estonian parliament never misses an occasion to declare once again that a sovereign rule-of-law state is being created. New laws are ratified in haste, however, and not always well thought out, which entirely repudiate that which binds the republic to the country. Elementary logic would suggest that new laws might be written by those who honor and respect His Majesty the Law and who do not flatly reject that which is confirmed by actuality.

Defensive Purpose of Radar Systems Stressed

LD0109145190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1030 GMT on 31 August carries a 25-minute edition of the "Armed Forces and Society" program. It consists of a studio discussion on "systems guaranteeing the country's safety against nuclear missile and space attack." The discussion panel consists of Aleksandr Korshunov, presenter; Colonel General Vladimir Makarovich Roskovskiy, a representative of the supreme command of the Air Defense Forces; Aleksey Arkadiyevich Kuzmin, general designer of systems warning against missile attack; Valeriy Vladimirovich Butenko, a specialist and deputy chief engineer; and Viktor Pavlovich Badurkin, a correspondent for TRUD.

Korshunov sets the scene: "The question of tracking stations has become fairly painful recently. Especially as we know the story of the Mukachevo tracking station. Passions rose over the building of the station. The ecological movement claimed the station was dangerous to people's health. That is one aspect of the problem. The second, and probably more essential, is whether we need these stations and systems in present conditions when the reduction of overall tension in the world and the transition to new relations with the United States are considered generally recognized, and this is undoubtedly a plus."

Ropskovskiy says: "We are talking about powerful over-the-horizon radars [radiolokatsionnaya stantsiya nadgorizontnoy lokatsii] which are a constituent part of the system for monitoring outer space and warning against nuclear missile attack. The existence of this system and its constant improvement makes an essential contribution toward ensuring strategic parity between the United States and the Soviet Union. The existence of such a system is also a reliable means against the accidental unleashing of nuclear war.

"People often ask whether the need to develop the powerful radars about which we are talking has not faded away in connection with disarmament, the warming of the international atmosphere, and the transition to a new defensive doctrine. Of course it is good that medium- and shorter-range missiles have been destroyed, but they are just three percent of the world's nuclear arsenals. People have many hopes connected with the 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive missiles. But nevertheless, even that will not resolve the basic problem because, first, it will not be the final elimination of offensive weapons, and second, new and more powerful and complete systems are being developed at the same time.

"Within the framework of the defensive doctrine the radars about which we are talking are, specifically, defensive weapons without which we cannot manage during the present stage of the development of offensive weapons such as intercontinental ballistic missiles and space systems designed for military purposes. In other words, it is primarily the appearance of new types of ballistic missile in the United State's armory which is compelling us to modernize and develop stations."

Kuzmin explains how the systems work: "Since the World War II—which means for over 45 years—weapons have existed, which I would call 'weapons' in quotes, which do not fire but specifically guarantee conditions for the development of civilization and our life which avert war. In general, information systems which warn against missile attack and those which monitor outer space must be classified as weapons of that sort. They are meant primarily to inform our government and supreme military command on everything which is happening in space, both near and far, so that the government can make appropriate decisions in the event of a real danger arising.

"What can we see with the help of these instruments, the radars which will be our principal subject today? Today these radars, information from which comes into the space monitoring system, perform up to 75,000 tracking operations on satellites or any space apparatus which come within their zone of coverage in space. You can imagine against such a background of the tens of thousands of practical targets which we observe continuously, we have to single out the possible appearance, generally speaking, of ballistic targets."

"It is a very difficult task. It is complicated especially by the fact that this information has to be super-reliable because you cannot just uncover something with some degree of probability. It is important not to make, to elaborate a false step, to elaborate false information. The most terrible thing for us is if we give our leadership incorrect information because the leadership has to make its decisions so responsibly. In the event of a mistake it could perfectly well lead to a worldwide nuclear catastrophe and the destruction of all civilization. Therefore we are obliged, above all, to provide reliable information. To put it in ordinary language, they have to see a five-kopeck piece at a distance of several thousand kilometers and to distinguish that five-kopeck piece from any other space apparatus, fragments, or waste."

Kuzmin continues: "We are obliged both to monitor space and to provide warning of a missile attack with our own resources from all possible sides. In other words,

today, since they stopped construction of the Krasnoyarsk station, an unmonitored direction has indeed developed today in the northeast where its sector of responsibility should be. This is known and perfectly obvious to everybody. So as for the difficulty with developing new stations—I'll tell you later precisely why—Mukachevo in particular forms, generally speaking, what I would call a catastrophic problem for the country with regard in general to the western direction."

Roskovskiy outlines the background to the Mukachevo case: "Two very authoritative commissions were set up on the Mukachevo station, involving a large number of academics and representatives of the public. Both commissions came to the conclusion that this station is ecologically safe for the population. But I must say first how authoritative the second commission was under the leadership of Academician Yevgeniy Pavlovich Velikhov." He notes that 23 out of 42 members of that commission were scientists, while the rest were mostly teachers, doctors, and leaders of local authorities; and that its findings were approved by all 42. "This testifies to the unanimous conclusion and the correctness of this commission's findings.

"Nevertheless, after the signing of this document or material—the commission's conclusion—there was no stop to measures aimed at arousing the local population. Evidently this was connected with the fact that somebody was interested, very interested, in closing this station and not providing the opportunity to continue its construction."

Korshunov interjects: "In other words, a peculiar sort of ecological terror?"

Roskovskiy replies: "Yes, quite right. In this situation the first to make the decision to halt construction was the defense minister because the social and political atmosphere in the region had grown so intense at that moment that the only decision which could be made was this one, to halt construction. The passions did not abate after that. Distortions of the commission's findings began even, unfortunately, on the part of those scientists from Uzhgorod University who had once given their signatures to indicate their agreement with the findings."

Asked about the lack of media coverage of the commission's findings, Roskovskiy comments: "Evidently this is one of the causes: the fact that the full text of the commission's conclusion was not published and presented to the people on such a wide scale in good time. This again allowed those persons who had an interest in so doing to present information in a distorted form in the mass media, above all, and to confuse people. As is already known, an instruction to halt construction in this region came from the USSR Council of Ministers on 2 August this year."

"In other words," Kovshunov interjects, "we can say that in making that decision, they were evidently guided not by the commission's findings but by the public sentiments which had developed at that moment."

Roskovskiy says: "Quite right. I would say even more to make clear that things are far from fine in the Transcarpathian region on the ecological front. This is the result of the failure by the local authorities to take appropriate measures. The station is not yet functioning, it is still three years away from functioning. Nevertheless, this station has become a stumbling block and the focus of all the local population's dissatisfaction ."

Korshunov then invites Butenko and Badurkin to describe the mood of the local population with whom they were in close contact during the construction of the Mukachevo station.

Butenko says there were numerous meetings with the locals and that they were given rather precise information on the aims and purposes, and the technical characteristics of the Mukachevo station. He blames the Rukh organization, a group which has now become the Ukrainian republican party, and another organization which "worked not to show the need for national defense and security" but in the first place waged a struggle so that the masses would support them.

Budarkin comments that it was not all that difficult for these organizations to win the support of the locals since the area is considered to be the "pearl" of the country and has marvellous natural resources, and that the concern of the locals to preserve that beauty is easily understandable, all the more so since it was just after Chernobyl and people felt they were not being told the truth all the time.

Badurkin continues: "This was the Ukraine. And at the time, moreover, there were rumors that the cloud had crept toward Hungary and Western Europe." He says the speakers, "whether they wanted to or not, gave cause for arousing such passions." "The point is that when work on the station was only just beginning, when construction was only just being planned, the residents were told practically nothing about what sort of station it was going to be, what it was for, and what goal it was to serve in the security interests of the state. And the main thing is that time was lost for a dialogue with residents. When construction was beginning on the site—and this is the problem with our whole country, this fondness we have for secrecy—it was announced that it was to be an Air Force repair base."

Roskovskiy says it is not a function of the Ministry of Defense and military designers "to try and persuade people; this is a job for the government and government departments above all, I think." Badurkin says people living near installations must have an idea of what goes on there. Roskovskiy agrees: "For otherwise we will be maintaining the myth that some sort of military department and defense establishment exists in its own right, and no one knows why these things are developed, installed, and built somewhere in the buses or forests, and that no one needs all that."

Roskovskiy says: "I think, moreover, that in some ways we've overtaken the Americans as far as glasnost is

concerned. A recent case is known when the American CIA and the intelligence section of the U.S. Defense Department found out from open press reports details connected with the loss of the Komsomolets submarine which they had not dreamed of finding from other sources."

Aleksey Kuzmin says "now we are calling for the use of foreign experience, and in particular American experience in all our affairs." In the United States there exists a developing system for warning of missile attack and monitoring space analoguous with the Soviet model. It has stations in densely populated areas as well. But the Americans have been involved in restoration of the environment disturbed by their stations, and in this sense we are following the Americans.

Everyone should be interested in the correct functioning of these stations, Kuzmin continues, in the U.S., in the USSR, and in China, for that matter. Cases of ducks being mistaken for missiles have been covered in the press. His personal opinion is that these systems should be integrated under the aegis of the United Nations.

Korshunov says there is also the aspect that besides the USSR and the United States there exist the new military powers such as Iraq, Israel, India, and Pakistan.

Kuzmin replies that this is a very significant factor. Political solutions reducing tension between the Soviet Union and the United States may be one party, but on the other hand the danger arises of a real appearance of nuclear missiles in many other countries. We must also control this, he concludes.

Informational Movie on Military Doctrine Reviewed

PM0509082290 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by TASS correspondent S. Ostanin: "Movie About Military Doctrine"]

[Text] "From the Defensive Doctrine Position" is the title of a new informational movie produced by the USSR Defense Ministry Movie Studio. It was shot by director L. Abramov from a script by Major General A. Goloborodov, chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate.

The movie reveals the basic tenets of the Soviet defensive military doctrine by showing the life and combat training of units and subunits and providing a detailed analysis of a number of operational-tactical exercises. The thrust of our Armed Forces' combat training is traced from the moment of the Soviet state's genesis. Different opinions held by Soviet people on the purpose of the Armed Forces and military service as a whole are compared.

Without imposing on the viewer the author's own standpoint on the problems under examination, the movie makes people think about ways of strengthening the motherland's defense capability.

Former Defense Ministry Inspector-Adviser Dies

PM0509154390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of Army General A.P. Beloborodov]

[Excerpts] Twice Hero of the Soviet Union Army General Afanasiy Pavlantyevich Beloborodov, the eminent Soviet military leader, died 1 September 1990 after a long and serious illness. [passage omitted]

A.P. Beloborodov was born 18 January 1903 into a peasant family in the village of Akinino which is in Irkutsk Oblast. [passage omitted]

After the war, A.P. Beloborodov was an Army commander, deputy commander in chief of the Central Group of Forces, chief of the "Vystrel" [officer training] courses, commanded the Voronezh and Moscow Military Districts, and headed the USSR Defense Ministry Main Cadres Directorate. In 1968 he became military inspector-adviser of the USSR Defense Ministry general inspectors group. [passage omitted]

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, A.I. Lukyanov, N.I. Ryzhkov, D.T. Yazov, M.A. Moiseyev, P.G. Lushev, K.A. Kochetov, N.I. Shlyaga, A.S. Pavlov, Yu.P. Maksimov, V.I. Varennikov, I.M. Tretyak, Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, V.N. Chernavin, V.M. Shuravlev, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorov, V.F. Yermakov, Yu.A. Yashin, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, S.K. Kurkotkin, N.V. Ogarkov, V.I. Petrov, S.L. Sokolov, Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, A.D. Lizichev, I.G. Pavlovskiy, A.N. Soshnikov, D.S. Sukhorukov, I.N. Shkadov, I.K. Yakovlev.

Baltic Republics

Baltic States Council Meet on 'Two-Plus-Four' Talks

LD0509224590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1956 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] A sitting of the Council of Baltic States took place in Vilnius today, at which the point of view was expressed of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania concerning the forthcoming meeting in Moscow on 12 September of the foreign ministers of the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, France, and the Germanys which are being united. The attention of the heads of world powers was drawn to the need for a joint solution of the question of the elimination of the consequences of World War II with respect to the Baltic states.

Taking part in the sitting, were: on behalf of the Estonian Republic—Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet; Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the government; Lennart Meri, minister of foreign affairs; on behalf of the Latvian Republic—Dainis Ivans, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet; Ivars Godmanis, prime minister; Indulis Bezinysh, deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Comission on Foreign Affairs; and Yanis Kronis, secretary of that commission; on behalf of the Lithuania Republic, Vytautis Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council; Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council; Kazimiere Prunskiene, prime minister; Algirdas Saugardas, minister of foreign affairs; Pranas Kuris, minister of justice.

The council of Baltic states adopted a statement in connection with the forthcoming foreign policy settlement of the German problem and the development of the Helsinki process. This statement will be handed to the participants of the meeting in Moscow.

Prunskiene Refuses To Attend Baltic Conference

LD0509143190

[Editorial Report] Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian at 0000 GMT on 5 September carries a 10-minute report by Guoda Litvaitiene summarizing Arkadijus Vinokuras' report on comments by Sweden's foreign department secretary, Pierre Schori, on Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene's refusal to attend the Baltic conference in Sweden.

Litvaitiene notes that when asked whether some means could have been found to enable Prunskiene to participate in the conference, Pierre Schori remarked that there were none. Schori is quoted to have said, "We were aware that there was only one way to invite her, since the Baltic states were not represented at the European security conference in Copenhagen. The Baltic states could have been represented here, at the (Rummiti) conference, for the first time since World War II, with their state flags. After all, the conference is international and on a governmental level." Litvaitiene notes that Schori expressed regret that not everything had turned out as planned. He also stressed the fact that Swedish Prime Minister Ingmar Carlsson was also regretting these difficulties, and apparently prompted by "remorse" has invited Kazimiera Prunskiene to Sweden, Litvaitiene said. Schori is cited as saying that the invitaion will be extended at the beginning of September, during the cultural workers' visit to Lithuania.

Schori notes there is no basis for blaming Sweden for the policy carved out by its former politicians; he notes Sweden's ties with Estonia and Latvia. Litvaitiene notes that when Schori was asked whether any plans exist for sending diplomatic representatives to Vilnius, he said that this was premature but Sweden is prepared to open a Vilnius information section and Lithuania can open a similar section in Stockholm.

Litvaitiene then summarizes Vinokuras' report on the conversation with Vorontsov, USSR Environmenal Protection Commission chairman, concerning Lithuania's refusal to participate in the Baltic conference. Vorontsov remarked that he has great respect for Prunskiene, though he does not agree with such "door slamming" tactics.

Litvaitiene notes that Prime Minister Prunskiene was also asked to comment on the situation. Prunskiene noted that from the very onset Lithuania's inclusion within the framework of the Soviet Union's delegation was stressed to such an extent that this ecological conference assumed an aspect of essentially, a political occasion, that would only underline Lithuania's dependence upon the Soviet Union.

Landsbergis Cited on Likelihood of Moscow Meeting

LD0609120490

[Editorial Report] Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian at 0000 GMT on 6 September carries an eight-minute report on the Council of Baltic states. Correspondent Audrius Matonis describes the meeting and the document signing, which is in connection with the forthcoming foreign policy settlement of the German unification issue and the Helsinki process.

Matonis notes that Lithuanian Supreme Council chairman, Vytautas Landsbergis, gave a news conference following the Council of States. Matonis notes Landsbergis was asked whether any preparations have been made for a possible invitation of Baltic leaders for consultation in Moscow. The Lithuanian parliament leader replied he did not expect any sudden reaction to the declaration, with an ensuing change in meeting protocol. Thus, invitation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia representatives to the Kremlin, was hardly possible. In spite of this, discussions at today's Baltic States Council meeting, also included the question of forming a Moscow delegation, should such a necessity arise. Our step is not oriented toward one reaction or another, indicated Vytautas Landsbergis, in explaining the declarations purpose. The principal position of the Baltic countries is expressed by it.

Lithuanian Supreme Council Session Summarized

LD0509113190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The first question under discussion [at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session today] concerned the bank statute and principal capital law. It was presented by Lithuanian Bank Chairman Vilius Baldisis. The Lithuanian Bank statute and principal capital law were approved by decision of the Council. [passage indistinct]

Deputies also discussed and changed Paragraph 19 of the Lithuanian provisional principal law. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the Supreme Council Agrarian Commission, Chairman Eimontas Grakauskas presented for deliberation questions on kolkhoz [collective farm] and other agricultural cooperative administrative organs. [passage omitted]

Deputy Eduardas Vilkas made known a [word indistinct] deputies' declaration concerning the fact that [word indistinct] a Liberal Democrats' faction is being established.

The session will continue tomorrow.

Free Democrats Form Parliamentary Faction

LD0509105990 Vilnius International Service in English 2200 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] At today's sitting of the Lithuanian parliament, Eduardas Vilkas, a member of parliament, has informed the parliament on the decision of nine parliament members to form a faction of free democrats. This is the second faction in the Lithuanian parliament, the first being that of the center. Observers say that the Lithuanian parliament would work much more constructively if there were more factions in it.

Anticommunist League Wants Prunskiene To Resign

PM0409143190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[INTERFAX report: "Attacks on K. Prunskiene Government Increasing"]

[Text] A leaflet is being distributed in Vilnius on behalf of the anticommunist Lithuania Freedom League grouping calling for a protest to be staged near the parliament building Tuesday to call for the resignation of the Kazimiera Prunskiene government.

The leaflet pins responsibility on the government for the deteriorating socioeconomic situation in the republic. The Freedom League's action is timed to coincide with the opening of the Second Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Session.

A Lithuanian parliamentarian who wished to remain anonymous expressed the view in an interview with our correspondent that the differences between the government and the parliamentary majority could lead to the Prunskiene cabinet resigning in the near future. However, in his opinion the extreme radical forces will first try to replace the current minister of internal affairs—M. Misyukonis—in order to beef up their influence in that department. It is no accident that there has been increasing criticism of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Lithuania of late.

Lithuanian Christian Democrat on Negotiations

PM0509081590 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 1 Sep 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party leader Egidijus Klumbys, by Bjarne Nitovuori; place and date not given: "Gorbachev Delaying the Negotiations"]

[Text] Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is in no hurry to begin negotiations with Lithuania. These negotiations would lead to a 100-day moratorium—that is, a freeze—on the Lithuanian declaration of independence of 11 March.

This is the view of Egidijus Klumbys, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian parliament's foreign affairs committee and leader of the Christian Democratic Party in Lithuania—a country which the world's press has almost forgotten despite the fact that no solution to the crisis has yet been found. Klumbys took part in the Helsinki meeting of European conservative party leaders which ended yesterday.

Klumbys belongs to the same party as Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas, and both opposed the decision in favor of a moratorium made on 29 June. As a minister Saudargas was unable to vote and Klumbys was in Brussels when the vote was taken.

"However, the moratorium was not that important for Lithuania. It was Gorbachev who needed it in the run-up to the party congress. He had realized that the blockade had failed and he needed something that would hide his defeat," Klumbys said.

However, the moratorium will only come into force once negotiations have begun, and Gorbachev is clearly in no hurry for these to start. The Lithuanian government has submitted its documents to the Soviet Government, which has not, however, replied.

"I think that Gorbachev is now concentrating on the new Union treaty, which the Baltic states, Armenia, Georgia, Moldavia, among others, are hardly likely to sign. What people in Lithuania fear is that he is waiting for winter, when he could apply pressure by halting fuel supplies."

On the other hand negotiations with Boris Yeltsin's Russia have started. A second round of negotiations will probably begin in early September. These negotiations could also be of great importance for the negotiations

with the Soviet Union, since Yeltsin's influence is expected to increase and this in turn has an effect on Gorbachev's actions.

As far as the moratorium is concerned, even Klumbys only has a vague idea of what it could mean in practice.

"The Constitution remains in force. The declaration of independence is only a declaration," he pointed out.

The blockade which the Soviet Government introduced after the declaration of independence was officially called off after the decision supporting a moratorium, but, according to Klumbys, oil and gas supplies have not been resumed at their previous levels.

"We do not know whether this is due to a continued blockade or the great shortages which there are in the Soviet Union."

The blockade naturally shook the Lithuanian economy, but it also had positive effects.

"Through it Gorbachev recognized Lithuanian independence; a country cannot blockade a part of itself. Second, it made the many who had previously supported Gorbachev realize what he is all about. Third—and this was what was most important—it made the Lithuanians realize that they can live without the Soviet Union," Klumbys explained.

Egidijus Klumbys believes in real independence within one to two years. Among other things this presupposes an agreement on the Soviet Army and the KGB. Klumbys can accept that the Army is not withdrawn all at once and that there could be a temporary solution of the Hanko-type after the Winter War [base on Finnish soil returned to Finland by the Soviet Union under the 1947 Peace Treaty], but agreement must be reached on a timetable for the withdrawal of troops.

The border problems must be solved on the basis of the 1920 peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Lithuania. This means that certain areas which now are under Belorussian control belong to Lithuania. And the Vilnius region, which was annexed by Poland immediately after the 1920 peace treaty, is also Lithuanian.

Kaliningrad (formerly Koenigsberg) is a problem for the Soviet Union and Russia. Lithuania's interest in the region is mostly cultural, since 50,000 Lithuanians are resident there, said Klumbys, who pointed out that prior to 1945 the area never belonged to Russia.

Lithuania Rejects USSR Military Service

90UN2733A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 9 Aug 90 p 1

["Declaration of the Supreme Council and Government of the Lithuanian Republic, addressed to USSR President M. Gorbachev and N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Due to the joint efforts of the leadership of the Soviet Union and the leadership of the Lithuanian Republic, a favorable situation has evolved at the present time for a resolution of political, legal, and economic problems that have arisen between both states. Unfortunately, the USSR Armed Forces deployed in Lithuania are causing increased tensions by their actions directed against the peaceful population of the Lithuanian Republic, and are attempting to worsen relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the Soviet Union on the eve of negotiations.

In conformity with the laws of the Lithuanian Republic and acts of international law, citizens of the Lithuanian Republic are not obligated to perform service in the armies of other states. In view of this, their refusal to perform such duty in the USSR Armed Forces is lawful. In addition, the Soviet Union does not guarantee the safety even of those youths who do perform service in the USSR Armed Forces. Twenty-two Lithuanian youths died in the Soviet Army in 1989, and in 1990, 16 youths. Nonregulation treatment, severe injuries, and death threats against many of them compel them to leave the USSR Armed Forces. At the same time there are youths in Lithuania who are being subjected to persecution on the part of USSR servicemen; illegal and violent actions are employed against them; they are transferred to the USSR, and they are coerced with force to continue their military service. Unwarranted pressure and arms, in the absence of legislative justification, are employed by servicemen in public places against the civilian population, which leads to victims among juveniles and women.

Such actions by Armed Forces of the Soviet Union based in Lithuania are at variance with the laws of the Lithuanian Republic and are a gross interference in the internal affairs of the Lithuanian Republic. They are also contrary to the laws of the USSR and to its international obligations.

The Supreme Council and the Government of the Lithuanian Republic demand that the leadership of the Soviet Union undertake urgent measures to put an end to violence on the part of its Armed Forces against citizens of the Lithuanian Republic and also to return youths serving in the Soviet Army to Lithuania. We are convinced that problems that arise must be resolved not from a position of strength but on the basis of intergovernmental agreements.

[Signed] B. Kuzmickas, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic

K. Prunskiene, prime minister of the Lithuanian Republic

[Dated] Vilnius, 7 August 1990.

Lithuanian Defense Service Law Published

90UN2708A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 2 Aug 90 p 3

["Provisional Law of the Lithuanian Republic on Service Obligation in Guarding the Land"]

[Text] Citizens of the Lithuanian Republic are obliged to guard and defend their state.

Guarding the Lithuanian Republic is the activity of the state directed toward defending the independence of the land, its interests, borders, and territory.

General Provisions

1. This law establishes service obligation in guarding the Lithuanian state and the organization of conduct of service over the period of restoration of statehood, in accordance with the principle of succession and development of institutions of the Lithuanian Republic.

2. Service obligation in guarding the land consists of active duty service in guarding the land and reserve service.

3. Service in guarding the land is organized on the basis of principles of duty, voluntariness, and the conclusion of hiring contracts.

4. Every man who is a citizen of the Lithuanian Republic, having reached the age of 19 years and being in good health to fulfill service in guarding the land, is obliged to accomplish active duty service.

Execution of the service obligation is possible upon reaching the age of 18 on a voluntary basis.

Persons up to 27 years of age are conscripted for active duty service in guarding the land.

5. Persons who fulfill service and who are registered in the reserves take an oath of loyalty to the Lithuanian Republic.

6. Officers and sergeants who are serving beyond their basic term of service in guarding the land receive pay in accordance with a contract concluded with the Department for Guarding the Land.

Other citizens may also be brought into service in guarding the land in accordance with a hiring contract, through procedure as established by the Department for Guarding the Land.

7. Women who are citizens of the Lithuanian Republic between the ages of 19 and 45, possessing medical or other specialized education, may be registered for military duty if they so desire, and accomplish service in accordance with a contract in auxiliary or special services.

8. Citizens from 19 to 27 years of age who by force of their convictions are unable to accomplish active duty service in guarding the land, fulfill an alternative (labor) service obligation in state labor detachments and services of the humanitarian and community spheres.

Procedure for conducting such service is established by a separate law.

9. Volunteers who are in a suitable state of health for service may be accepted for service in guarding the land.

10. Political activity on the part of parties, social movements, or groups is prohibited in service in guarding the land.

11. The Provisional Law on Service Obligation in Guarding the Land is executed by the government of the Lithuanian Republic.

12. Service in guarding the land is regulated by the Law on Service in Guarding the Land.

13. Statutes in guarding the land are ratified by the government of the Lithuanian Republic.

Service

14. Service in guarding the land is fulfilled by citizens of the Lithuanian Republic:

a) in subunits guarding state borders;

b) in separate subunits guarding the land—in accordance with resolutions of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council regarding their establishment;

c) in internal units;

d) in paramilitary firefighting formations, formations guarding important civilian facilities, and rescue services.

15. The duration of active duty service in guarding the land is 12 months.

The term of service of citizens in accordance with a hiring contract is established by the contracting parties. However, the age of persons conducting service cannot exceed 55 years.

Term of service duration for citizens with higher education who have not undergone military training in the military faculties of VUZ's [higher educational institution] is six months.

16. Persons who have fulfilled military service in the USSR Armed Forces, Border Troops, Internal Troops, or railroad military units are released from active duty service in guarding the land.

17. Time of service accomplished with the police or civil aviation, the Navy, or railroad of Lithuania is taken into consideration in the conduct of active duty service in guarding the land.

Call-Up

18. The call-up of new recruits for service in guarding the land and their discharge from the ranks are declared by the Lithuanian Republic government and executed by the Department for Guarding the Land.

The number of conscripts is established by the Lithuanian Republic government.

19. The rolls of persons subject to registration and draftees are drawn up by place of residence, according to procedure established by the Department for Guarding the Land.

20. The call-up of new recruits for service in guarding the land is conducted twice annually, in April-May and October-November.

The place and time of performance of duty service is established by the Department for Guarding the Land.

21. Call-up for service in guarding the land is conducted taking into account the interests of the state and the desires of the draftee regarding place of service, branch of service, and also selected military or civilian specialty.

22. Persons not brought into active duty service during the call-up period are conscripted for service at the next call-up.

23. Completely released from service in guarding the land are:

a) citizens unable to accomplish service by virtue of their state of health;

b) students at religious training institutions and members of the clergy.

Persons with higher education who have completed the entire military training course are released from active duty service in guarding the land.

Persons who have been sentenced by a court to confinement for a period of more than three years are not called up for service in guarding the land.

In each specific instance, a draftee is released from active duty service in guarding the land for state-of-health reasons by the commission for conscripting new recruits of city (rayon) self-government in accordance with the state-of-health requirements established by the Public Health Ministry and Department for Guarding the Land.

24. Certain categories of citizens may, on decision of the Lithuanian Republic government, be released from active duty service in guarding the land or their service obligation may be deferred.

Deferment from active duty service in guarding the land is extended to:

a) students of general-education high schools and special technical training institutions—until they complete the program, but not past the age of 24;

b) students of VUZ's (with the exception of correspondence courses)—not past the age of 26;

c) postgraduate students.

Deferment from the conduct of service in order to finish schooling is extended by the commission for conscription of new recruits on whose rolls the draftee appears.

25. Deferment from the conduct of active duty service in guarding the land by virtue of family circumstances is afforded citizens in the event:

a) a draftee is the only breadwinner in the family, which he is obligated to support according to the law;

b) a draftee has two or more minor children.

26. In the event persons enumerated in Articles 23, 24, and 25 of this law, to whom deferment from active duty service has been afforded, are not called up for active duty service in guarding the land prior to reaching the age of 27, they are enrolled in the reserves.

27. Persons conducting service are discharged into the reserves if any one of the conditions stipulated in Article 23a or 25 of this law arises.

28. In the event of ecological catastrophe, natural disaster, or emergence of a threat to state security, mobilization to active duty service in guarding the land is effected for men who have reached the age of 18 and persons in the reserve who are subject to call-up.

Service continues up until such time as the aforementioned circumstances no longer exist or are eliminated.

Conditions and procedure for conducting mobilization under such circumstances are established by the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic.

Conscription Commissions]

29. The following commissions are established for organization of the call-up of new recruits:

a) commissions for conscription of new recruits of rayon (city) self-government;

b) Main Commission for Conscription of New Recruits of the Department for Guarding the Land.

30. Members of commissions for conscription of new recruits of city (rayon) self-government include:

commission chairman—the mayor of the city (rayon director) or his deputies;

commission deputy chairman—a representative of the Department for Guarding the Land;

commission members—doctors, police, representatives of the social protection department.

The composition of the commission is approved by the Department for Guarding the Land.

31. Members of the Main Commission for Conscription of New Recruits of the Department for Guarding the Land include:

Commission chairman—chief (deputy) of the department mobilization section;

Commission deputy chairman—inspecting officer of the new-recruit conscription section of the department;

commission members—doctors, and representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Justice Ministry.

32. The doctors required for commissions, as stipulated in Articles 30 and 31 of this law, are proposed by the minister of public health upon application of the Department for Guarding the Land.

33. The commission for conscription of new recruits of city (rayon) self-government is responsible for:

a) checking the state of health of draftees;

b) deciding call-up issues, assigning new recruits to subunits in the system of guarding the land, and deciding matters of deferment, discharge, and the reserves;

c) submitting a list of draftees to city (rayon) self-government entities prior to call-up.

34. The Main Commission for Conscription of New Recruits of the Department for Guarding the Land is responsible for:

a) settling disputes with respect to service conscription of draftees, draft deferments, and service discharge;

b) exercising supervision of the operation of commissions for conscription of new recruits of city (rayon) self-government.

The commission is obliged to examine such disputes within 10 days in the event there is no need to conduct a special investigation.

35. Decisions of the Main Commission for Conscription of New Recruits of the Department for Guarding the Land may be appealed, within 15 days of statement of the decision, to a court of the draftee's place of residence.

Reserves

36. Considered subject to recall from the reserves are persons who have accomplished active-duty service in guarding the land, as well as persons who have not accomplished such service but who were released for reasons as stated in parts two and three of Article 23, and in Articles 24 and 25 of this Law.

37. Entered in the reserve to accomplish service in guarding the land are persons between the ages of 27 and 35, who comprise the first-category reserve, and persons between the ages of 35 to 45, who comprise the second-category reserve.

The junior officer component is entered in the first-category reserve up to the age of 45, and in the second-category reserve—up to the age of 55.

The senior officer component is entered in the first-category reserve up to the age of 50, and in the second-category reserve—up to the age of 60.

38. Persons entered in the reserve after accomplishing service in guarding the land cannot be called up for exercises or training camp for guarding the land more than twice for each reserve category.

The period of time over which exercises or training camp are conducted cannot be:

a) for the first category—more than one month;

b) for the second category—more than two weeks.

39. Persons who are engaged in alternative (labor) service are not conscripted for exercises or training camp for guarding the land.

Final Provisions

40. Service in guarding the land is financed out of the state budget.

41. Accountability for failure to fulfill the Provisional Law on Service Obligation in Guarding the Land is stipulated in a separate law.

42. Persons who lose their ability to work during the time of their service in guarding the land are guaranteed social security by the state.

43. The state provides social insurance in the event of accidents occurring to individuals accomplishing service in accordance with this law.

44. In the event rules are established in conformance with international agreements concluded by the Lithuanian Republic other than those which appear in this law, the norms of international agreements take force.

45. It is permitted in the current year, 1990, to conscript youths who have attained the age of 18 for active-duty service in guarding the land.

46. It is established that, because of the inadequate material base, a portion of the youths of the first two call-ups can be directed to conduct alternative (labor) service.

In this event, the duration of alternative (labor) service is 12 months.

[Signed] V. Landsbergis. Chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet.

[Dated] Vilnius, 17 July 1990.

Pro-CPSU Lithuanian Paper Resumes Publication

PM0409092590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Yu. Stroganov: "Newspaper Back"]

[Text] Vilnius—LITVA SOVETSKAYA, newspaper of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU), resumed publication in Vilnius' Press House 29 August.

After the split in the Lithuanian Communist Party there arose the question of dividing up the property, including periodicals, between the parties. The Lithuanian Communist Party's Russian-language newspaper, which had come out since 1940, was arbitrarily declared to be the publication of the reorganized Lithuanian Communist Party. However, at a party meeting shortly afterward the majority of its staffers confirmed their membership of the CPSU. The newspaper was handed over there and then to the republic Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers.

A group of journalists of the former SOVETSKAYA LITVA did not accept the validity of such a decision.

Lithuanian Airline Opens Up International Routes

PM0609074890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent Yu. Stroganov report under the "Ticker Tape" rubric: "Winged Business"]

[Text] A Vilnius-Leipzig air route has linked these two cities for the first time. The maiden voyage was made in a Yak-40. But because of high demand the Tu-134 will appear on the line in the near future.

International and commercial links are suggesting new points on the map to Lithuanian aviators. This year flights from Vilnius to Varna began for the first time and trips to Warsaw were resumed. Earlier a route to Berlin was opened up. Regular flights to Frankfurt-am-Main and Copenhagen are scheduled.

International routes bring the "Lithuanian Airlines" company considerable profit, including foreign currency. Therefore charter trips—to Greece, the FRG, and other countries—have also become a usual affair. Talks are being held on flights to Stockholm. The stream of suggestions from businessmen and tourists is growing.

Lithuania Supports UN Iraq Resolution

90UN2733B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 9 Aug 90 p 2

["Declaration of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic"]

[Text] The parliament, government, and public of the Lithuanian Republic approve the UN Security Council decision which condemns the aggression committed on 2 August of this year by Iraqi forces against the neighboring state of Kuwait.

Lithuania, which was treacherously occupied and annexed by a powerful neighbor half a century ago, is certainly familiar with assertions that the people themselves allegedly desired the intervention of a foreign army.

Lithuania, which is restoring its state, protests against the efforts by Iraq to establish a puppet government in Kuwait favorable to it with the help of a military machine. We are convinced that the aspiration to freedom even of the smallest state in the world is its sacred right, and that military aggression deserves condemnation as being contrary to humanity and the standards of the coexistence of states.

[Signed] B. Kuzmickas, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic
[Dated] Vilnius, 7 August 1990.

Latvia Addresses 'Two-Plus-Four' Conference

LD0509152190 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga September 5 TASS—The Latvian parliament called for consideration of the interests of the Baltic Republics during discussion of foreign aspects of German unification.

A memorandum, adopted today by Latvian parliamentarians, is addressed to participants in the "two-plus-four" meeting of foreign ministers, scheduled in Moscow on September 12. The memorandum reads that German unification will "have regulated one of the most important unresolved problems of World War II."

"At the same time, the just solution of European problems is impossible without discussing the current status of the Baltic states," the memorandum reads. "Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are remaining the only de jure states that have not restored their independence de facto."

The Latvian parliament believes the Baltic problem is an international problem, rather than the Soviet Union's domestic affair. The parliament called on country-participants in the Moscow meeting to "admit that stable peace in East Europe can be reached only after the de facto restoration of independence to the Baltic states."

The parliament also demanded that the issue be discussed at a special four states conference in the near future and a Latvian delegation be invited to attend it.

President of the Latvian parliament Anatoliy Gorbunov said similar addresses are being prepared in Lithuania and Estonia.

Latvian Supreme Council Reconvenes 3 Sep

Gorbunov Opens Session

LD0309112190 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0700 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Supreme Council deputies of the Republic of Latvia have again convened in the session hall. The second session of the first convocation is now being opened by Anatoliy Gorbunov. Today, immediately after the festive opening of the session, a sitting of the presidium will take place, which will decide on the agenda for today and the future. Several draft laws will be examined. It has yet to be (?determined) which of the drafts require immediate discussion by the deputies, and which require additional work. Following the presidium session, deputies will meet for discussion in groups.

Vote Counting Commission Named

LD0509222590 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0900 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] At the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia a plenary sitting is taking place at present. The deputies have already elected the vote counting commission for the second session, to be led by Imants Geidans, and a secretariat. Juris Dobelis was reelected as leader. At the moment the deputies are stating proposals on the agenda of the second session of the Supreme Council.

Latvian Citizens Gather To Stage Protest

LD0309213890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The work of the second session of the Supreme Soviet of Latvia of the new convocation began in Riga today.

[Begin recording] [N. Kasayanova] After a brief meeting, the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, having returned from summer holiday, began work in the presidium and in factions, in order to amend the long-term plans of the Latvian parliament.

The people of Riga—who had come to the Domskaya Ploshchad [Cathedral Square] at the call of the Committee for the Defense of Citizens' Rights and the Constitution of the USSR and the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, of the joint council of labor collectives, the army public, Interfront, the Joint Committee of War Veterans, the Armed Forces and Internationalist Servicemen—timed their protest action to coincide with this event.

What are your demands?

[S.I. Marinkevich, chairman of the organizational committee for holding the protest action] We are for the state independence of Latvia as part of the USSR on a contractual basis. But we act categorically when these questions are decided without the people, without taking account of the demands of the 400,000 signatures, which have been gathered, of the population of Latvia, demanding that these questions be decided with the help of a referendum. We are against the discrediting of the foreign-language population. There are redundancies in enterprises and organizations. In the first place, it is namely the foreign-language speaking population who are being made redundant without even goodbye or thank you being said to them.

[A.V. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Republic] The concern of a certain group of the population of our republic, especially pensioners who have little, is justified, of course. That is my opinion, and, I think the opinion too, of a certain extent of our parliament, that military people have become that category of our population who are socially protected least of all. Now that we are going through a transitional period to the establishment of complete statehood, the status of the army ought to be defined by a treaty, so that that status of the army will be clear to everyone, so that, so to speak, our duties will be clear and the army will know its place in the republic. After all, in the republic, there is no link at all between the army and the leadership of the republic.

Ruutel Receives Icelandic Party Delegation

LD0409110790 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet Arnold Ruutel today received a delegation of the Icelandic Independence Party led by Thorsteinn Palsson, the party's leader and former prime minister. Arnold Ruutel told his guests about efforts to restore Estonian independence. He emphasized the fact that success at the talks which have opened between Estonia and the USSR can be significantly influenced by support of other states. [passage omitted]

The party leader feels that it is now a favorable time for an official recognition of the Baltic states by both the Icelandic parliament and the government, and this issue will be raised at the parliament session due to open in October. He also promised to support the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian endeavors to participate as observers in the work of both the Nordic Council and the Paris Conference.

Ruutel Meets With Norwegian Parliamentarians

LD0509125490 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] It has not been ruled out that decisive days have arrived for the fate of the Baltic states. The Western great

powers may—in return for the USSR being accommodating on the issue of German reunification—bypass the Baltic issue in silence, and thus untie the USSR's hands to resort to the policy of force in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. The support of the world public at large, peoples, and states is very necessary at the moment so that also the Baltic issue—the remains of World War II in Europe—will be resolved," said Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia's Supreme Soviet during today's meeting with a group of deputies of the Norwegian Storting [parliament]. Ingvar Gudal, leader of the group, noted that Norway has never recognized the annexation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

During the conversation the two sides discussed the steps Norway could take in order to support the advancement of the Baltic states towards independence, and the opportunities for developing relations between Norway and Estonia in various spheres.

The Norwegian parliamentary deputies—representatives of the three ruling parties—were also received by Ulo Nugis, speaker of the Supreme Soviet and leader of the Union of Work Collectives.

Latvian-Hungarian Talks Held in Moscow

LD0509212790 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0430 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Late yesterday afternoon we recieved the news that, at the request of the prime minister of Hungary, the permanent representation of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia in Moscow was visited by the Hungarian envoy to the Soviet Union Sandor Gyorke and by Embassy Counsellor Istvan Varga. On the Latvian side, the Hungarian representatives were met by the permanent representative in Moscow, Janis Peters, and Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis, and by counsellors on political and economic questions.

During the talks there was an exchange of information about the situation in both states, and there was also discussion of the possibility of creating qualitatively new relations in the political and economic spheres. Agreement was reached on a visit by the Hungarian envoy to Latvia by 1 October this year.

Estonia, RSFSR Views of Border Incident

LD0409211190 Moscow TASS in English 2058 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn September 5 TASS—The Estonian Government called an action to shift border poles in Leningrad region a provocation and an attempt to put pressure on the Estonian parliament and government, above all in pursuing their domestic policies.

A government report circulated here clearly defines the attitude towards activities by detachments of the Kajtseliit organisation which carried out this action in the morning of September 2 during the so-called staff exercises.

An attempt to carry out a similar action was also undertaken in Pskov region.

The Estonian government states that Kajtseliit as a public organisation has nothing to do with the state border, a legally regulated object. Spontaneous activities are inadmissable in this sphere.

The Kajtseliit action was a secret operation but at the same time coincided with Estonia's talks with the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation, the city of Leningrad and Leningrad region.

The Estonian government notes that the rules of traditional respectful conduct with respect to neighbours were violated by the incident of September 2.

The Interior Ministry was instructed to prevent such actions in future.

A message by Prime Minister Ivan Silayev of the Russian Federation to Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar was circulated here today.

It deals with the installation of border poles in Leningrad region of the Russian Federation in the place of the border which divided the bourgeois Estonian Republic and the USSR.

The letter notes that the government of the Russian Federation regards these actions as a provocation and an attempt to trigger off a conflict between Estonia and the Russian Federation at a time when the two republics are conducting friendly negotiations on mutual relations.

The Russian government requested the Estonian government to give orders to remove the so-called border poles from the territory of the Russian Federation and to take appropriate measures to prevent such illegal actions in future from the territory of Estonia, for which Russia has always entertained feelings of deep respect and maintained broad friendly relations.

Ryzhkov Maintains Position on 'Integral'

904A0578A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 17 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by A. Tretyakov: "Again About 'Integral'"]

[Text] USSR People's Deputy V. Yarovoy and Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] People's Deputy S. Petinov met with their voters on 15 August in the "Mayak" Palace of Culture (everyone was invited to attend). The main topic of conversation was the interbranch association "Integral."

V. Yarovoy, who had just returned from Moscow, read the text of a report by the Department of Information of

the USSR Council of Ministers regarding the fact that N.I. Ryzhkov had made a statement about the immutability of his position regarding the establishment of the interbranch association "Integral."

It was further noted in the speeches that the essence and the aims of the newly established association were distorted in a number of documents that were recently approved at the level of the Supreme Soviet and the government of Estonia, and also signed by representatives of the three Baltic republics, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, Moldova, the Moscow Soviet of People's Deputies, the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies, and the Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. In particular, the establishment of "Integral" is attributed to "pressure" from the Union departments and is assessed as their effort to maintain the supremacy of the obsolete administrative-command system.

"Many opponents of the association, apparently, still do not know," said V. Yarovoy, "that the decision to unite in 'Integral' was almost unanimously adopted at the congress of deputies of all levels in Kohtla-Jarve (of 200 participants, only two voted against and six abstained)."

Today, it was said at the meeting, the association consolidates 11 institutions on a voluntary basis, and not one word is said in its statutes about any kind of intention to isolate itself from the economy of the republic. On the contrary, the question is about strengthening the contribution of Union enterprises to this economy, first and foremost by increasing the production of technology and equipment for the needs of Estonia's agriculture, and about expanding cooperation with the local soviets.

But why has the establishment of "Integral" caused such sharp opposition, first and foremost on the part of the republic government? In the opinion of the speakers, this is associated with a lessening of the authority of the current staff of the government, and with attempts to place responsibility for the difficulties being endured by the population on "Moscow's diktat."

Meanwhile, certain aspects of this "diktat" are clearly explained in a 1 August letter from L. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to E. Savisaar where, for example, it is stated:

"Changes in the procedure for organizations and enterprises of the association ('Integral') to make payments to the budget were a compulsory measure for fulfilling the budget. As is well known, in December 1989, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet suspended the implementation on the territory of the republic of Article 15 of the USSR Law on the State Budget of the USSR for 1990. Despite the declaration by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet that this decision contradicts the Constitution and laws of the USSR, Estonia in the first half-year actually did not meet its obligations on payments to the Union budget: It was to have deposited 186.4 million rubles [R], but it transferred only R13.3 million." This document, which explains in detail the position of the USSR Council of Ministers regarding "Integral," was not published by the mass media in Estonia.

'Voluntary' Basis of 'Integral' Disputed

904A0578B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 16 Aug 90 p 1

[Report of the press service of the government of the Estonian Republic]

[Text] The press service of the government of the Estonian Republic reports that a correction has appeared in TASS channels from the Information Department of the USSR Council of Ministers. In it the Information Department gives its interpretation of the discussion of questions concerning the "Integral" Association at a meeting between N. Ryzhkov and E. Savisaar.

The correction from the USSR Council of Ministers Information Department states that on 9 August the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA "published information from the Estonian Telegraph Agency [ETA] which said that in the course of the talks N. Ryzhkov allegedly agreed to review the instructions on the creation of the aforementioned association, and that he also noted that resources will not be apportioned to it directly." The USSR Council of Ministers informed E. Savisaar of the immutability of the position of the USSR Council of Ministers with respect to the state association "Integral" which amalgamates enterprises and organizations on a voluntary basis.

The government press service states more precisely that the information transmitted by ETA from Moscow concerning "Integral" was as follows: "... N. Ryzhkov agreed to review the instructions on the creation of 'Integral' in order to make joining it voluntary. He noted that resources will not be allocated to the 'Integral' Association." (The word "directly" was omitted by ETA, and a correction was given in the newspapers RAKHVA KHYAEL and SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA on 10 August. The ETA information also stated: "N. Ryzhkov declared the decree of the Supreme Soviet (of the Estonian Republic—ETA note) of 7 August regarding 'Integral' to be incorrect."

If now the Information Department of the USSR Council of Ministers reports that the association is being established on a voluntary basis, then it follows from this that the instructions were reviewed and that changes were made to it. Up until now, the known instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers read that all enterprises of Union subordination situated in Estonia are part of the association. Based on this, joining the association was also required of such enterprises that were not interested in it and that did not intend to do it on a voluntary basis.

The government of the Estonian Republic expects that this fundamental change with respect to "Integral," if it

actually occurred, will be reflected in the text of the pertinent instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The remaining points of view of N. Ryzhkov regarding "Integral" in the ETA information and in the correction of the Information Department of the USSR Council of Ministers are expressed in practically the same way. With respect to "Integral," the government of Estonia and the USSR Council of Ministers find themselves in fundamentally different positions, in connection with which N. Ryzhkov, as was noted in the ETA information, even called a decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic of 7 August concerning the nonrecognition of "Integral" incorrect.

Estonian Paper on KGB Eavesdropping Facility

LD0409175290 Tallinn International Service in English 2030 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] On Thursday the Estonian daily SPORDILEHT published the fact that in Old Tallinn, in the spire of St. Olaf's Church, there had been at least for the last 10 years a KGB electronic eavesdropping center. The KGB Headquarters are situated just across the street near the same church.

The Estonian deputy on the Supreme Council and a member of the Defense Commission Juri Liim writes that while preparing for the 1980 Olympic regatta in Tallinn, powerful electronic bugging equipment was taken up into the spire. It was meant mainly for intercepting radio conversations.

The equipment is so sensitive that it's possible to eavesdrop radio conversations between police, taxi drivers, army units, and so on in Finland and in Sweden, not to speak of Estonia. That is the reason why the spire cannot be opened to visitors.

At present St. Olaf's spire and the KGB Headquarters are connected by a cable. According to Jiri Liim, an underground cable is ready for use already and it won't be so easy to notice it then. He also thinks it to be unprecedented that in one of the biggest churches of Europe such an office like KGB has found a place for itself. And it's even more peculiar that the board of St. Olaf's Church and the Estonian church authorities have never protested about it publicly, writes Juri Liim in the Estonian daily.

RSFSR

Reportage Continues on RSFSR Party Congress

Proceedings, Agenda Outlined

PM0509154990 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Russian Communist Party: Traveling a Formative Path. Second Stage of RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress"]

[Excerpts] The Constituent Congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party resumed work in Moscow 4 September after a 70-day break. As is known, its first stage ended at the end of June.

The congress delegates include M.S. Gorbachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, and other leaders of the party and country.

The session was opened by I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The chairman submitted the draft agenda for the second stage of the congress to be discussed by delegates, stressing that it had been approved by a council of representatives of congress delegations.

The draft sparked off a keen discussion. [passage omitted]

Delegate A.I. Saushkin, chairman of the Dubna City Soviet Executive Committee, proposed readdressing the question of the actual powers of the congress. While regarding the creation of the Russian Communist Party as expedient, he asserted, many Communists oppose the formal unification of organizations on the republic's territory and the hasty holding of the Constituent Congress. He proposed the holding in 1990 of a congress consisting of delegates elected by secret vote on the basis of party electoral districts. The Russian Communist Party's authority can only increase as a result.

Evidently sensing the shakiness of their arguments, some speakers resorted to "unconventional" oratorical devices. Thus, Yu.N. Belyayev from Gorkiy assessed "as a major provocative act" the sale of cigarettes in the Kremlin at... the same commercial prices as are currently being used in cigarette trading throughout Moscow. In his view, the fact that nobody has set preferential prices for delegates in the Kremlin is to be regarded as an attempt to fill those present with dread at the prospect of a...market economy.

Yes, there was no shortage of oratorical imaginativeness at the start of the congress discussions. Two weeks [since the publication of the draft RSFSR Communist Party Action Program] is manifestly not enough for people in the localities to make any kind of correct assessment, Moscow Oblast party organization representative V.V. Krupin said. Essentially a mere two weeks after conception we are being asked to induce labor. And we are assured that the infant is so highly developed that it needs to emerge into the world immediately. Have we gathered here in order to hand our ideological opponents a complete set of trump cards? I am convinced that irrespective of how good it may be, at the discussion stage a draft of any conceptual document is only a semi-finished product. To attempt to bring it up to the mark in a mere two and a half days is a futile endeavor, the speaker said, proposing that the present stage be confined to just discussing this document without adopting a final decision. He also proposed a roll-call

vote on this question with its results to be published without fail in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

The speech by writer Ye.V. Maksimov from Smolensk was extremely short. Conveying the demands of the Russian provinces, he called for the congress to be conducted in a businesslike and dynamic manner rather than getting involved in a discussion of the first secretary's candidacy. Delegates need to return to the localities as quickly as possible and put things in order. And Muscovites should do the same in the capital so people have at least a penny or two in their pocket and bread to eat.

Generally speaking, various views were expressed on the Moscow delegation's statement [criticizing the draft action program]. In particular information was given that the document had been signed by 165 of the 220 members of the delegation.

Moscow City Soviet deputy and USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting commentator V.I. Ampilov, who had been invited to the congress, insisted that speakers do not have the right to speak on behalf of all Moscow Communists. He also expressed his full confidence in I.K. Polozkov, backing this up with a fact from his personal experience. The journalist said that he was born in the village of Belyayev Glina and spends his vacation there every year. With the advent of I.K. Polozkov peasants, machine operators, and milkmaids began to be given grain in kind, as opposed to the words about freedom which we are so fond of speaking today. The speaker sees more socialism in this simple fact than in the most high-flown eloquent words.

Professor B.S. Khorev of the Moscow University Economics Faculty called for serious thought to be given to the fate of the country, the fate of the motherland. Look at what we are being offered by our former party comrade B.N. Yeltsin, the academic told the congress. A break with socialist dogmatism, and a bourgeois rule-of-law state whose name, "The Russian Republic," omits the words soviet and socialist. If in these conditions the Russian Communist Party delays in organizing a combative Politburo and adopting its Action Program—and this is an inspiring document which differs to a considerable extent from certain maverick statements of recent times—we will lose everything.

The professor went on to submit a proposal from the Initiative Congress that a commission be established to investigate the coordinated persecution in the mass media of the republic communist party, First Secretary Comrade Polozkov, and General Makashov. Who is behind this persecution? Is it not an indication that one section of the country's leadership is intriguing against another? We ordinary Communists also take this view because a newspaper like IZVESTIYA cannot be absolutely free of control. As for Makashov, a new publication—the bourgeois RUSSKIY KURIER [RUSSIAN COURIER], whose editorial collegium includes Korotich, Starkov, and Yegor Yakovlev—published an article by former general Kalugin which described Comrade Makashov's speech to the 28th party congress as semi-fascist. How long are we going to put up with this psychological warfare against our own people, I ask you people sitting on the platform.

A certain circle of people are trying to drive the crab back under his stone—this was how Leningrad party organization representative V.A. Tyulkin described the discussion. The comrades built a line of defensive fortifications to prevent the organization of the Russian Communist Party, he said, but they failed. Now more and more new arguments are being adduced. Having failed to ban the emergence of the party, some people are now attempting to embrace it to death. There is no point in our stirring each other up. I propose that the question be put to the vote.

Passions frequently went beyond the bounds of parliamentary ethics. Moscow "Labor Banner" machine building plant shop chief O.P. Chukantsev, who read out an appeal from a conference of the enterprise's shop party organizations and party aktiv, was simply... met with slow clapping. In the enterprise party organization's view, the Action Program, which appeared in the press only at the end of August, requires in-depth discussion in primary party organizations. They proposed the creation of a commission to work up this document so that a second congress can be convened in the first half of next year and adopt a program and statutes.

As if arguing with this viewpoint, S.V. Kostin, first secretary of the Dimitrovgrad City CPSU Committee [Gorkom] in Ulyanovsk Oblast, said that their city party organization, rather than waiting for the second stage of the congress, spent two months conducting a discussion of materials relating to both the Constituent Congress of the Russian party and the 28th party congress. A gorkom plenum adopted a draft action program for the city organization. Many Communists participated in its elaboration. The program basically coincided with the draft published by the Central Committee. The gorkom first secretary therefore proposed that the congress spend no more time on discussion but move on to a vote on the agenda.

The results of the polemic were generalized and summarized by I.K Polozkov. Taking account of the 24,000 additions and comments received from primary party organizations, the Drafting Commission and Preparatory Committee need to prepare a joint draft resolution which the congress will have to decide to ratify or do additional work on so that this document can be adopted at a plenum, a conference, or some other party forum. The speaker also proposed to those present that the question of the Central Committee first secretary's candidacy not be included on the agenda so as to avoid distracting the congress participants' attention and allow them to concentrate on the main questions. He promised to return to this question later.

By a majority vote the delegates approved the agenda proposed by the Preparatory Committee:

1. Keynote report "On the RSFSR Communist Party's Action Program."
2. Completion of elections to the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee.
3. Ratification of regulations governing the RSFSR Communist Party Control Commission.
4. Election of RSFSR Communist Party Control Commission chairman.
5. Election of RSFSR Communist Party Control Commission.
6. Ratification of regulations governing referendums in the RSFSR Communist Party.

The proposed standing orders were also adopted.

I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, then delivered the report "On the RSFSR Communist Party's Action Program."

Delegates Debate Issues

PM0509131890 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Single Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report": "Second Stage of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Communist Party Founding Congress"]

[Excerpts] The second stage of the RSFSR Communist Party Founding Congress began work at 1000 hours on 4 September 1990 in Moscow's Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

The congress sitting was opened by I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee. The delegates heard and took note of the report from G.M. Khodyrev, chairman of the Credentials Commission, on changes in the composition of congress delegates. Then after a lengthy discussion delegates approved the procedure of the congress' work and the agenda. [passage ommitted]

The morning sitting was chaired by Yu.A. Manayenkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The report on the first question [on the RSFSR Communist Party action program] was delivered by I.K. Polozkov.

Speakers in the debates on the report were: I.P. Vtorushin, milling machine operator at the "Drevmash" Science and Production Association's machine building plant, Tyumen City; I.I. Nikulin, first secretary of Novgorod CPSU Obkom [Oblast Committee]; T.A. Zaplavnaya, writer, Tomsk City; F.I. Sushkov, first secretary of Michurin CPSU Gorkom [City Committee], Tambov Oblast; Yu.A. Prokofyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; V.A. Shiryayev, director of the Kirov Plant in Tula Oblast; V.A. Kukarin, first secretary of Medvedevskiy CPSU Raykom [Rayon Committee], Mari ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]; I.M. Boltovskiy, driver at the Moscow "Mosavtolegtrans" Production Association No. 4 taxi pool; G.N. Fedorov, chairman of the "Krasnoye Znamya" Collective Farm in Pskov Oblast; N.M. Shmytko, first secretary of Borovskiy CPSU Raykom, Kaluga Oblast; O.R. Latsis, first deputy chief editor of KOMMUNIST, Moscow; G.K. Rebrov, lecturer at Moscow State University; N.S. Stolyarov, senior teacher at the Yu.A. Gagarin Air Force Academy; and Z.I. Vasilyeva, teacher at the Cheboksary No. 27 secondary school, Chuvash ASSR.

The evening sitting was chaired by I.K. Polozkov.

Speakers in the debates were: V.N. Shumilov, first secretary of Leninskiy CPSU Raykom, Novosibirsk; V.M. Prilukov, chief of the KGB directorate for Moscow City and Oblast; A.P. Loshkarev, first secretary of Ruzayevka CPSU Gorkom, Mordovian ASSR; and V.A. Achalov, commander of the Airborne Assault Troops.

Then congress delegates heard the report of the editorial commission on the draft Statute on the RSFSR Communist Party Control Commission, which was delivered by A.I. Seleznev.

The debates continued. The congress was addressed by A.A. Romashov, chairman of the Krasnoyarsk City No. 26 Soviet of People's Deputies; and A.Yu. Churin, party committee secretary of the Sinarskiy Pipe Plant, Kamensk-Uralskiy City, Sverdlovsk Oblast.

In the "Miscellaneous Business" section congress participants addressed a number of critical remarks and proposals to the mass media and certain ministries and departments.

At the end of the sitting, delegates ratified the Statute on the RSFSR Communist Party Control Commission.

Various Opinions Voiced on Party Leader Polozkov

Polozkov's Report Debated

LD0509182190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Report by correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov from the Kremlin]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—In the afternoon the delegates to the congress continued the debate on Ivan Polozkov's report and the Russian Communist Party's action program. As at previous sessions, the spread of opinions and assessments was very wide. Some of the speakers spoke approvingly of the Communist Party's action program and of its leader. Others, noting the serious divergences between congress program documents and the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress, harshly criticized these issues. [passage omitted]

At the end of the evening session there was a ballot for members of Communist Party leading bodies, the results of which will be announced tomorrow.

It is expected that the congress, which started on Tuesday and established an agenda for four days of work, will finish ahead of schedule, tomorrow.

In the corridors of the congress there is active discussion of the possible resignation of Ivan Polozkov, leader of the Russian Communist Party, elected to this post only two months ago. Many Communists and even whole party organizations are expressing dissatisfaction at the election of Polozkov, who has gained a reputation as a representative of the extreme conservative tendency in the party.

Polozkov Resignation 'Possible'

LD0509190190 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party continued this afternoon to discuss the report delivered by party leader Ivan Polozkov and the programme of activities for the Russian Communist Party.

There was a wide diversity of opinions and assessments, as at previous sessions. Some speakers approved of the programme and of the party leader. Others noted serious discrepancies between programme documents of the congress and the decisions of the 28th congress of the Soviet Communist Party and criticised the proposed programme.

Delegates gave an ovation to a speech by Leningrad regional party committee Chairman Yuriy Belov, who spared no black paint in his depiction of prospects for the country's life after its transition to a market economy.

Noting that such a transition is inevitable, Belov called it a serious test and a source of social stratification and centrifugal trends in the country. He believes the transition will result in the "barbarous capitalisation of the country". He called on the party to "learn to be a constructive opposition to the authorities", within the framework of the constitution.

Yuriy Slobodkin, a judge from Solnechnogorsk near Moscow, supported Belov, saying that the market will "make the country an appendage, supplying raw materials to transnational corporations". He demanded that a referendum be held on the expediency of the transition to a market.

Slobodkin claimed that "an underground anti-Soviet centre" is functioning in the Soviet Union, waging a "malicious and foul" campaign against the Russian Communist Party and its leader Ivan Polozkov.

Delegates, representing another stand, could hardly speak, as the audience met them with an indignant hum. Speaking on behalf of young communists, Aleksandr Barinov called on Polozkov to resign. "The party leader failed to establish business-like contacts with the republican leadership, new parties, the press and the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League]," he said.

Speaking on behalf of the Russian Komsomol, Vladimir Yelagin said if the programme of activities is adopted in its current state, the Russian Communist Party will "find itself in opposition to the Soviet Communist Party, parliament and the Komsomol".

Yelagin believes a split in the party would be inevitable. The way out is to de-ideologise the programme and "Create a left bloc". Today, people "do not need sacred (?ideological cows), they need [words indistinct], he said.

A similar position was held by Aleksandr Popelyshkov, a party activist from a Kuybyshev plant. He said the adoption by the Russian Communist Party of the draft programme, which he described as a "set of slogans", will make it an "easy target" for criticism.

"For 70 years, we tried to cover the damned past with a brilliant future, forgetting the present. We can see what resulted from this," he said.

Serviceman Andrey Godunov called for "parting with conservative forces" in the Communist Party.

"History teaches even those who do not want to study," Mikhail Severyanovv a Krasnoyarsk scientist, warned, referring also to the congress.

The election of managing party bodies was held at the end of the session. The results will be returned on Thursday.

The congress which began on Tuesday and is scheduled to last for four days, is expected to end tomorrow.

The possible resignation of party leader Ivan Polozkov, elected to the post two months ago, is being actively discussed in the congress' lobby. Many communists and organisations are dissatisfied with Polozkov's election, as he is considered extremely conservative.

Polozkov Rejects Resignation

LD0609075490 Moscow TASS in English 0743 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Leader of the Russian Communist Party Ivan Polozkov today said he will not resign, in spite of criticism and calls for him to go.

"I am not scared out of my senses because of the campaign unleashed by some publications," Polozkov said, addressing the Russian Communist Party congress. Delegates met the statement with a storm of applause.

"If somebody is not satisfied with my election, their dissatisfaction can be understood, but this is not the reason to doubt the results of the lawful elections," he said. Polozkov noted that the struggle "reflects clashes between real political forces."

The party leader noted the complicated situation in the country and the dangerous development of events. He called on "all honest-minded people of Russia" to "do away with strife and establish civil accord."

"I decided not to yield to pressure by destructive forces," Polozkov said. He believes a vote of confidence at the congress could be used to begin "a new round of political instability" by "forces wishing to hamper the Russian Communist Party at the outset and to prevent it from being actively included in the country's political life."

Polozkov Views Role as Leader

LD0609101590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Today is the third day of the second stage of the constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party. It is possible that the congress will end today. In any event, the wrap-up news conference is expected this evening. In the hours of work that remain, the delegates must adopt the Communist Party's action program and form its ruling bodies. At the moment, debate continues at the congress. The tone of the speeches is very acute at times. For example, one of the speakers, Professor Popov of Leningrad, deemed it possible to describe the situation in the country as "counterrevolutionary."

The morning session started with the reading of the results of elections to the party Central Committee and its Central Control Commission. Delegates endorsed the protocol from the congress Tellers' Commission. As a result, 272 people were elected to the party Central Committee and 96 to the Central Control Commission.

The floor was then given to Polozkov, first secretary of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party Central Committee. He gave an explanation of his position in connection with the competence of his election to the post of leader of the Russian Communists.

[Begin Polozkov recording] I am for democratic and responsible power in the country. I am for civil order; however, I am against it when those who today prefer to be in the shadows, those who have not been elected by anyone, to whom power has not been delegated, get more and more legitimate power.

I have thought a great deal about how to act in the situation which has developed. I thought of putting the issue to a vote of confidence at this congress. Judging by the things that delegations here have said to me, I would probably have won a vote of confidence; however, would this procedure have helped things? That is the main issue which has been worrying me. I think it would not. Those who are striving with all their strength to stifle the Russian party at birth, to stop it from getting actively involved in the political life of the country, would have used that to create a new spiral of political instability.

Having thought over the situation that has come about, I came to the conclusion that I should not give in to the pressure of the destructive forces. I have been elected by you and will conscientiously carry out the will of Russian Communists. [applause] [end recording]

On the suggestion of the chairman, the congress voted to give the floor to representatives of various platforms and movements. Leningrad Professor Popov spoke on behalf of the Initiative Congress of Russian Communists. Muscovites Lepitskiy and Yegorov spoke on behalf of the Democratic and Marxist Platforms of the CPSU. Zolotov, a senior lecturer at Gorkiy University, spoke on behalf of the Communist Initiative youth movement's organizational committee.

The congress continues its work. It is thought that it will end today.

Polozkov's Views Assailed

90UN2722A Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32, 10-26 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by Yevgeny Ambartsumov, political scientist, RSFSR people's deputy: "Polozkov Tells All"]

[Text] After his unsuccessful bid for the Russian presidency, Ivan Polozkov kept quiet about his political views. Why? Because the public rightly saw them as very conservative, even reactionary. But now that Polozkov is head of the Russian Communist Party and a member of the Politburo, he has decided to cast caution to the winds and recently he gave an interview to PRAVDA (6 August).

According to this interview, Polozkov rejects the idea of a market economy and universal human values. He sees no need for restructuring the forms of property or the loosening up of economic relations (both part of the President's economic policy). Polozkov in fact would favour a return to universal rationing, the way it was under Stalin.

Polozkov supported those "who get paid for their work." Does he mean workers or public servants? Most of them earn their pay. But there's a category of people who think that one's pay is something like securities which are constantly growing—something unimaginable for those "who are on pension" whom Polozkov does not mention at all. Polozkov lumps real salary and wage earners together with members of the party and government nomenklatura.

He thinks he defends the interests of that class and suggests that we look into history. But history shows that the party nomenklatura has always ridden roughshod over the interests of working people. So why should

people who know the price of the slogans of the party of Stalin, Brezhnev and Ligachev, trust the party of Polozkov?

In the tradition of his ideological predecessors, Polozkov prefers class positions to universal human values: "Therein lies the watershed today!" That's right, the watershed between him and all those who support the new political thinking and common sense.

Polozkov has unwittingly revealed his class approach. Given a free market, he complained, people "would not be able to go abroad on vacation." But who among those who "work for their pay" has ever vacationed in those accursed capitalist lands? Most members of nomenklatura and their families liked being provided for by the state, like getting hard currency for free rather than having to exchange their roubles at market rates.

Polozkov's hostility towards "demagogues and pseudopopulists who pursue goals infinitely removed from working people's interests" has come home to roost. Many statements Polozkov makes hit back at him because of his lack of training. In one veiled accusation of Alexander Yakovlev he showed his ignorance of social doctrine of the Vatican and the Bible. Having chased the money changers from the temple (because they turned it into a "robbers' cave"), Christ warned those who like "receiving respectful greetings in the street; and to have chief seats in synagogues, and places of honour at feasts...." (Mark, 11, 17, 12, 38-39)

Polozkov's political platform is demagogic. First Polozkov recognizes that the "transition to a market economy... would affect working people's vital interests. This, alas, is inevitable...." Then he declares that his party is prepared to "reliably protect the class interests of working people." But if these interests are to be inevitably affected, how can one "reliably protect" them?

Polozkov says the CPSU must subject the market to the interests and power of the nomenklatura, i.e., prohibit the market. But he is prepared to call a regulated market economy essentially the same party and administration diktat (camouflaged), which has brought the country to its current impasse.

Polozkov says we must "go back to the pure sources" of ideology. He is nostalgic for the phony theoretical conferences "on the purity of Marxism-Leninism" under Brezhnev and Chernenko.

Polozkov has to accept the party's renunciation of its monopoly on power. Instead he makes a clumsy reference to Lenin who invariable advocated this monopoly. But Polozkov disagrees with Gorbachev's call for a coalition of all democratic forces. Polozkov sees the Communist Party's function as anti-market. He suggests that the interests of enterprising and imaginative people ("shopkeepers") be voiced by some other party. What party? Gorbachev's or Yakovlev's? Why not give the name?

Polozkov wants to set "those who earn their pay" against the reform and fan enmity. His is a manifesto of the anti-reform forces.

Polozkov may delude himself about consolidation now that Ligachev and Yakovlev are off the chessboard. But how can one look calmly on a black Pawn about to turn into the Queen? How can one not see the threat from the right overhanging the subtle tactical game being conducted by what appears to be overcautious reformer who is also having time trouble?

Control Commission Nominees Speak at Congress

LD0509132790 Moscow TASS in English 1254 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The today's session of the founding congress of the Russian Federation Communist Party opened with the nomination and discussion of candidates for the post of chairman of the Central Control Commission.

The council of delegations' representatives nominated Nikolay Malkov, first secretary of the Chita regional party committee. Several other candidates were also nominated. As a result, a worker from Novosibirsk, Vitaliy Bayduzhiy, and military academy lecturer Colonel Nikolay Stolyarov were put on the ballot for secret voting.

Bayduzhiy's speech was poorly received, consisting as it did of jokes and allegations that the Soviet economy had been wrecked by prominent economists. Many delegates were outraged by his words that "some peoples of the world have just jumped down from the trees".

Deputy David Kugultinov said with bitterness: "I was ashamed to listen to this man speaking about 'peoples that have just jumped down from the trees'. What place is this if such things are said from a high rostrum."

Delegate Valeriy Telichenko, from Moscow, also lambasted Bayduzhiy's speech. A few delegates tried to make a hero of the worker, and although Gennadiy Nikitin, of Leningrad, insisted on removing him from the ballot, the proposal was not put to the vote.

Nikolai Stolyarov attracted everybody's attention already on Tuesday [4 September] by his bright, well-reasoned speech. Today as well his brief speech was often interrupted by applause. On agreeing to run for the post of head of the Central Control Committee, he said: "I think that the important thing for the party now is not to control, punish or pardon, but to protect the interests of every Communist and non-party member."

Stolyarov assured the congress that he will act in this spirit if elected.

Then the congress started discussing candidates for the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee. The procedure was far from smooth. Some Moscow delegates withdrew their candidacies, saying an action programme should be adopted prior to electing the Central Committee. At the same time, they contended that they could not pass this programme because it was ill-prepared and at variance with the documents of the 28th Communist Party Congress.

The same reasons were cited by 70 Moscow delegates who refused to take part in the vote for the Central Committee.

At the end of the morning session, delegates voted for the chairman of the Central Control Commission. Results will become known later.

Stolyarov To Chair Commission

LD0509144690 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Nikolay Stalyarov, a military academy lecturer, was elected chairman of the Central Control Commission of the Russian Federation Communist Party in a secret ballot, held at the party's founding congress today.

The 43-year-old Air Force colonel beat two rivals, Nikolay Malkov, first secretary of the Chita regional party committee, and Vitaliy Bayduzh, a worker from Novosibirsk.

Stolyarov received 1,737 votes out of 2,399 ballots cast.

Stolyarov drew attention of the delegates by his briliant speeches at the 28th Congress of the Communist Party and the current forum of Russian Communists.

Expectations for Congress May Be 'Too High'

PM0609091390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed article: "A Word Before the Congress. Forum of Russia's Communists Begins 4 September"]

[Text] Probably no event in the country's political life today meets with an unambiguous reaction. Things that suit some people often arouse doubts and even hostility in others—sometimes very fierce hostility. Examples of this are fresh in all our minds.

The first stage of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Constituent Congress aroused in society a plethora of stormy discussions and polarized opinions and judgments. PRAVDA is still receiving letters whose writers—both supporters and opponents of the congress—often make no bones about using plain language. The tone of statements by a number of press organs is sharp too: There is no shortage of articles using sarcastic overtones to describe "conservatives" and apparatchiks in the corps of delegates and failing to properly analyze the documents adopted by the Russian congress—it is far easier to attack "obvious" targets.

If we reject extreme views, we cannot fail to recognize nontheless that the constituent congress by no means entirely justified Communists' expectations. Perhaps because these expectations were too high—which means that the level of demands on the new party is high too. Most people agree that the Russian Communist Party should not mechanically unify territorial party organizations; it is intended to be an influential political force capable of acting effectively in the interests of perestroyka and the democratic renewal of society. And Communists are naturally asking whether it will be able to carry out this difficult mission. Is its potential adequate, are its structures democratic, and are the leaders of party committees at all levels equal to present-day demands? And, of course, Communists are worried about the problem of the relationship between the party and the soviets—both at local level and republic-wide. After all, without close and fruitful cooperation it will be impossible to solve the large-scale tasks of Russia's socioeconomic development or to emerge from the crisis situation.

This goes a long way toward explaining the wide divergence of opinions as regards the assessment of the RSFSR Communist Party draft "action program." PRAVDA has already published some responses to the draft program, and some are published on today's "Discussion Page." Regrettably, before the start of the second stage of the constituent congress we have been unable to feature all the letters and comments acutely raising the issue of the fate of the Russian Communist Party. Thus, G. Dernovoy, chairman of the party commission at the Protvino Institute of High Energy Physics, writes on the instructions of a conference of party organization secretaries at that institute's subdivisions that Communists have not been able to discuss the draft program in detail—it was published just two weeks before the start of the second stage of the congress. And this means that they did not have time either to work out their proposals and submit comments on the program to the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee. This is affecting Communists' prestige and undermining confidence in them. Yet the situation in this party organization—and in many others, incidentally—is extremely difficult: Dozens of people have turned in their party cards, party subscriptions have been "frozen" in certain primary organizations, and so forth. "How much longer," the writer asks, "will we go on ignoring the real conditions under which primary party organizations—the foundations of the party—have to operate?" Communists at Moscow enterprises of the "Altair" Science and Production Association and a number of other collectives have sent their criticism to the editorial office.

It is obvious that all these ideas—just like the "Statement" published by a group of delegates from the

capital—will be thoroughly examined by the congress which starts work tomorrow. At the same time, one would like to express the hope the the delegates to the party forum will not get bogged down in "procedural" matters but will tackle with the utmost professionalism the resolution of the unprecedentedly complex tasks facing Russia's Communists. This is demanded by the strained situation in the republic and the country. It leaves no time for clarifying purely intraparty relations. We must not postpone practical matters which are awaiting principled and creative efforts from Russia's Communists. We must not fail to justify the expectations of people who see the party as a constructive and consolidating force on which they are pinning their hopes for the protection of working people's interests at a time of radical change in the economy and the social and political spheres.

We believe that concern for people's interests—which are inseparable from our party's interests—will determine the atmosphere of the RSFSR Communist Party Congress and that the congress itself will serve to rally party ranks and enhance the creative activeness of Russia's Communists.

Delegates View Congress Session

LD0509150390 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksyonov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow, September 5 TASS—"I regard developments at the congress as an attempt to revise decisions made by the 28th Soviet Communist Party Congress," said Andrey Godunov, a delegate to the founding Russian Communist Party congress.

"My comrades in the Democratic Unity bloc and I reject such a course of events."

The second round of the congress began here on Tuesday.

Godunov, a serviceman from Leningrad, told TASS that the Democratic Unity bloc includes young communists, reform-minded communists supporting the democratic platform in the Soviet Communist Party and other democratically-minded communists, including secretaries of primary party organisations.

Members of the bloc are compiling their own draft resolutions for the congress.

"We hope for a favourable turn of events. But if Ivan Polozkov stands at the helm of the Russian Communist Party and the action programme submitted to the congress is approved, many things are possible," Godunov continued.

"The most extreme of them is a split in the party and the formation of our own organising committee, which will call on Russian communists to set up a party based on the decisions of the 28th party congress."

"Although we are not satisfied completely with these decisions, they give a chance to march forward. What is now happening at the congress is not two steps backward but permanent trailing behind. This is the death toll for the Russian Communist Party and the CPSU," Godunov stressed.

"The congress swings sharply either to the right or not very sharply to the left," poet David Kugultinov told TASS. "The first day witnessed the swing of the congress only to the right. This was expressed in a clear-cut way."

"Hopes of people for the current congress are not fully materialising," believes Army Colonel Nikolay Stolyarov. He caught attention of delegates by his fiery speeches at the 28th party congress and at the forum of Russian communists on Tuesday.

Stolyarov, 43, a lecturer at a military academy, was today nominated, among others, for the post of chairman of Central Control Commission of the Russian Communist Party.

Commenting on the course of the congress and sentiments of some delegates, Stolyarov said that "people are tired of expectations. They are waiting for sweeping and efficient decisions not tomorrow but today".

"This psychological state of delegates fires their agitation and aggressive spirit," he added.

"Nothing unexpected," was a terse reply by Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

"Regrettably, there is no major unifying and constructive idea at the congress for the time being," he added. "The audience responds to speeches in different ways.

"I would not draw the conclusion that the congress mostly backs conservatives. Delegates more often applaud artistic abilities than delegates'stands."

A different opinion was expressed by Viktor Magda, member of the Military Council of the Leningrad Military District, who said that "the second round of the congress has turned to be more substantive than the first one".

"I cannot say that I'm satisfied," he continued. "But I believe that the debate has become more constructive." The time after the first round and after the 28th CPSU Congress evidently enabled delegates to determine better their own positions and positions of other delegates.

Moscow Communists Respond

PM0609082090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

["Statement" by Moscow City party organization delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress, published under the rubric "To the PRAVDA Editorial Office"—first paragraph is a cover letter]

[Text] "We request that the statement by delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress from the Moscow City CPSU organization in connection with the second stage of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Founding Congress be published. The statement has already been signed by 75 delegates to the 28th Congress, and this number will grow as people study it. The document sets out not just one of the main views on the founding congress, but the fundamental position with which we wish to familiarize the republic's Communists. [Signed] S.I. Goryushkin, O.R. Latsis, V.A. Lyakishev, members of the CPSU Central Committee and delegates to the 28th Congress; A.L. Radugin, member of the CPSU Central Control Commission and delegate to the 28th Congress."

Reflecting the opinion of many Communists and party organizations in the city, we support in principle the creation of the RSFSR Communist Party as a necessary component of the sovereign republic's political system.

However, during the organization of the RSFSR Communist Party in the first stage of its founding congress, unjustified haste was shown in selecting some of the Central Committee and the first secretary. The institution of the RSFSR Communist Party in effect boiled down to the formal unification of CPSU organizations on RSFSR territory.

This has prompted a sharp protest from many Communists and party organizations in Moscow which oppose being mechanically included in the RSFSR Communist Party.

The situation is exacerbated by the decision to hold the second stage of the founding congress 4-6 September this year and by the submitted draft "Action Program for the RSFSR Communist Party."

We believe that:

The two-week period between the publication of the "Action Program" and the scheduled date for the second stage of the congress makes it impossible to have an in-depth discussion of the document in primary organizations or at city level, and to take Communists' views into account;

Contrary to its title, the proposed document does not contain a specific action program for getting the republic and the party out of the general crisis. On a number of provisions it runs counter to the the 28th CPSU Congress program statement. It does not promote the consolidation of the efforts of the Communist Party and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. It cannot serve as a basis for discussion at the congress without fundamental reworking.

All this calls into question our possible participation in the congress 4 September. But, bearing in mind the urgent need to stabilize the sociopolitical situation in the republic, we will be going to the second stage, insisting on:

The creation at the congress of a commission to draw up a draft action program and statutes for the RSFSR Communist Party, and for these to be the subject of a partywide discussion in the republic;

The convening in the first half of 1991 of the Second RSFSR Communist Party Congress to adopt the program and statute documents and to elect its central organs. In the period leading up to the Second Congress the RSFSR Communist Party should be guided solely by the documents of the 28th CPSU Congress.

We call on all congress delegates to support this statement.

Infringement Upon RSFSR Sovereignty Protested

90UN2671A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Declaration of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's Legislation Committee: "Declaration to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, USSR Supreme Soviet, USSR President, and Constitutional Oversight Committee"]

[Text] In connection with the adoption of resolutions by the highest organs of the USSR, including the USSR president, concerning the repeal, suspension, or declaration of invalidity of a number of legislative acts of Union republics, we consider it necessary to declare the following:

1. Within the system of state organs of the USSR, the highest level is occupied by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The supremacy of the congress proceeds from the very nature of this organ, constituting the **highest representative** institution of the people. To this day it is the only organ of which two-thirds is **elected directly by the people** of the entire country, an organ based on representation of all segments of the population, national states, national-state and territorial formations.

Even this organ, however, according to the Constitution in effect, **does not have the right to directly repeal, suspend, or declare invalid legislative acts of the Union republics** (see Article 108 of the USSR Constitution).

And this is understandable since there cannot be anything higher than the sovereign will of the peoples of the republics, expressed in documents of the highest judicial power—laws, resolutions, and other enactments of the Union republics.

2. If the USSR Congress of People's Deputies does not have the right to repeal, suspend, or declare invalid legislative acts of the Union republics, can organs and responsible officials elected by the congress, including the USSR president, have greater authority than the USSR Congress of People's Deputies?!

Following common sense and the letter of the USSR Constitution, only one conclusion can be drawn—**they cannot!** Therefore, ukases of the president, resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other enactments under the law which declare the repeal, suspension, or invalidity of legislative acts of the Union republics, and requiring lower echelon organs not to observe the provisions of these Union republic acts, **are unconstitutional, have no judicial force, and are not subject to execution as of the moment of their adoption.**

3. Ukases of the president, like other enactments under the law of organs of executive authority, which claim to revise, repeal, or suspend any decisions adopted by the highest legislative organs of the USSR or Union republics, run counter to the general concept of building a rule-of-law state in the USSR, the concept of which has as its basis the principles of supremacy of **the law** , and of separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers.

The USSR Congress of People's Deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet are legislative organs. The USSR president and USSR Council of Ministers are executive organs. The congress elected the first USSR president and bestowed authority upon him, and it has the right to remove the president (Article 127 superscript 3 of the USSR Constitution). On the whole, the highest legislative organ of the USSR has similar authority with respect to the USSR Council of Ministers.

Therefore, no executive organ, including the president, has the right to repeal, suspend, or declare invalid legislative acts of the USSR or Union republics.

4. Ardent supporters of the use of methods of force by the center with regard to the Union republics never fail to present in the way of argumentation the provisions of the USSR Constitution on the right of the Union "to ensure unity of legislative regulation over the entire territory of the USSR" (Article 73) and the rule on precedence of a USSR law over a Union republic law in the event of divergence (Article 74).

We might be able to recognize these arguments were it not established in that very same Constitution that a Union republic is **a sovereign state** (Article 76), **voluntarily entering** the composition of the USSR (Article 70), and that the USSR **is obliged** to protect the sovereign rights of the Union republics (Article 81), which also enjoy the right of free secession from the USSR (Article 72).

It is impossible **to protect** the sovereign rights of Union republics and simultaneously **ensure** unity **by force** , and provide standardization of legislation of the USSR and Union republics. Consequently, the argumentation of use-of-force adherents does not remove the **unconstitutionality** of decisions made by the center concerning repeal, suspension, or declaration of invalidity of legislative enactments of the Union republics.

In previous years, the USSR was, in the formal judicial sense, a state consolidation with elements of confederation (the right of free secession from the Union), but in fact was strongly centralized, essentially a unitary state. In the present day, reality has come to comprise confederative principles and even international-legal aspects regarding relations between the Union republics and the center. Attempts to exert pressure of force in the given situation constitute the yesterday of constitutional law. They can—and do—lead only to confrontation.

According to the very essence of the Soviet Federation, the means of ensuring conformance of Union republic legislation to USSR laws can comprise just one method— **concordance of positions**. Reciprocal efforts on the part of the highest legislative organs of USSR and Union republic organs are necessary. They must create coordinating commissions on principles of parity. The intermediary, coordinative efforts of Union organs and the USSR president may become genuinely constitutional and inestimably significant.

5. The actions of USSR organs have intensified in recent times with respect to the sale of strategic resources and products under terms economically disadvantageous to the RSFSR. Such resources and products comprise the economic foundation of RSFSR sovereignty (diamonds, gold, platinum, silver, oil, gas, uranium, rare-earth elements, ferrous and nonferrous metals, timber, furs, grain, meat products, fish, and salmon and sturgeon caviar).

In executing the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the RSFSR, and the RSFSR Law "On Ownership in the Territory of the RSFSR," all foreign economic agreements and transactions with respect to the aforementioned resources and products which were concluded following adoption of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the RSFSR, and which in fact undermine the economic basis of RSFSR sovereignty, must be declared as not having judicial force and not subject to execution.

The RSFSR should not bear economic or financial obligations proceeding from transactions and agreements concluded by Union organs concerning the aforementioned resources and products without its consent.

All persons responsible for violating procedure established by RSFSR legislation for performing operations with strategic resources and products must be held accountable as having committed acts which undermine the economic foundations of RSFSR sovereignty.

Foreign representations and organizations must be officially notified as to the new procedure for concluding economic and trade transactions for strategic resources and products which comprise the economic foundation of RSFSR sovereignty.

It is considered advisable to present the question of protecting the economic foundations of Union republic sovereignty before the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet for discussion.

6. We consider the provisions of Point 7 of Article 113 and Point 15 of Article 127, Superscript 3, to be incompatible with the concept of state sovereignty of Union republics. The latter point, for example, gives the USSR president the "right" to declare a state of emergency and introduce provisional presidential rule in any Union republic **even without its consent!**

It is evident that the aforementioned articles of the Constitution cannot be implemented in practice. In view of their contradiction to such basic principles of the Soviet Federation as sovereignty of the Union republics, voluntariness, and equal rights, they must be repealed by the next USSR Congress of People's Deputies. All attempts to apply these provisions can be considered only as **illegal, unconstitutional intervention into the affairs of a sovereign state.**

[Signed] S.M. Shakhray, chairman of the Legislation Committee of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

V.I. Belov, I.A. Bezrukov, V.K. Barov, N.L. Gen, A.A. Kotenkov, V.D. Mazayev, B.Ye. Nemtsov, D.Ye. Stepanov, S.N. Baburin, members of the Legislation Committee.

V.A. Balala, A.V. Blokhin, V.V. Dmitriyev, I.V. Muravyev, members of the Committee on the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies and Development of Self-Government of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

RSFSR Minister Defends Control of Resources

904A0565A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian
No 33, Aug 90 p 13

[Interview with N. Fedorov, RSFSR minister of justice, by L. Aleynik; place and date not given; published under the rubric "In Detail for SOYUZ": "To Whom Does That Gold Belong?"—first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted the decree "On the Defense of the Economic Foundation of RSFSR Sovereignty." It says that foreign economic and Union republic agreements and transactions for the sale of diamonds, gold, platinum, precious stones, silver, ferrous and nonferrous metals, timber, furs, grain, and other strategic resources and goods are invalid where they have been concluded without the RSFSR's agreement after adoption of the Declaration of RSFSR State Sovereignty.

The editorial board of SOYUZ asked N.V. Fedorov, recently elected to the post of RSFSR minister of justice, to comment on the decree and the situation.

[Fedorov] I know the document very well because I drafted it myself. In fact, a problem has arisen which was unexpected for the peoples of Russia, and one might say that we learned about it accidentally: from the Western press.

It is characteristic of certain forces that everything was kept secret right up to the last moment and that as always the Russian people knew nothing. We learned that a feverish sale of the national wealths of Russia is under way on conditions that are one-sided and extremely unprofitable for us. This concerns not only gold and diamonds, but other strategic resources: Oil, natural gas, etc. Information arrived recently through TASS channels for official use only and for a very narrow circle of officials to the effect that across literally a week or two the USSR threw $1 billion worth of gold onto Western markets. That sort of thing has never happened before: Usually $2-3 billion of gold is sold over a year.

As the RSFSR minister of justice and a USSR people's deputy, I will state that all these transactions bear an anticonstitutional character and violate and ignore in the crudest fashion the laws that have just been adopted.

[Aleynik] Which ones in particular?

[Fedorov] The Law on Property in the USSR in particular. Literally several months ago the Union leadership—A.I. Lukyanov, N.I. Ryzhkov, L.I. Abalkin, S.S. Alekseyev, and others—joined the commission to draft that law and they were its principle authors. It says that the land, the mineral wealth, and the resources are the property—that is to say the possession—of the peoples residing on those territories. The diamonds belong primarily to the peoples of Yakutia, the oil around Tyumen is the property of the peoples of that area, etc. According to this law no one, especially the representatives themselves of the executive organs of the Union, has the right to conclude such transactions without the agreement of the people and the authorized organs of their power. In a political and historical sense I say unambiguously that transactions of an illegal character have been completed.

[Aleynik] Is that not too strict an interpretation?

[Fedorov] A very important constitutional, legal, and political aspect in the evaluation of these transactions is the idea that nowhere in the world, except where there are dictatorships usurping power, does someone have the right to conclude multibillion dollar transactions for the next five years that affect the very foundation and basis of the people's existence. It is inconceivable: It is difficult to imagine the sale of the mineral wealth of the United States without the agreement of the congress and without discussion—simply as a result of the single signature of a representative of the executive power.

I am convinced that those who so cynically violate the adopted laws and rights of the Soviet peoples should be brought to account.

[Aleynik] Is this case subject to jurisdiction in principle?

[Fedorov] Everything must absolutely be brought out into the open and made public, and such cases must be investigated. When they are essentially committed in secret and all the documents are hidden from us, it is very difficult to establish the course of events and someone's personal accountability. I firmly promise one thing: We will demand a full account, and I will raise this question before the USSR Supreme Soviet. In the name of the Russian Federation we will demand that the Union organs—the Supreme Soviet and the government—tell us what they have sold from the territory of Russia.

[Aleynik] Your intention to carry this case to its logical conclusion means that such a precedent will become the last: If we do not do it now, then when will we?

[Fedorov] We are entering that realm where secrets are dangerous and their exposure is fraught with consequences, as I have been warned by "well-wishers." But I will manage to remove the secrecy. It must be brought into the open; the people's power of Russia simply has no other levers, instruments of influence, or structures of its own. For the present, Russia has no mechanisms that can seize the hand that is grabbing at our diamonds. They are being sold at least 15 times cheaper than the cost price of unprocessed stones.

In the name of the government of Russia I say that we are once more warning our foreign partners and the world community to take into account the existing legislation of the USSR and the fact that the country consists of a number of sovereign republics. Their representatives are at the United Nations, and the USSR Constitution declares their state sovereignty. Furthermore, without the agreement of the authorized organs, we do not recommend the conclusion of any transaction.

This is not a caprice of the government of Russia but a rigid, strict demand dictated by the people who elected us. We will do everything to defend their interests.

Soviet Sale of Russian Gold Criticized

LD0109104590 Moscow World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] In an interview with one of the agency's correspondents, Russian Federation Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov commented critically on a USSR Government deal to sell Russian gold and diamonds abroad. He referred to it as unlawful and dismissive of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's declaration of sovereignty. The deal was carried through hastily and without due consideration, on terms that were extremely unfavorable to the country, he noted. Its purpose is to feverishly bolster the state's financial policy and to artificially prolong the life of the bankrupt Union government.

Silayev Interviewed on Economic Reform Program

LD0509195490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1455 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Interview with Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, by unidentified correspondent on the "Topical Interview" program; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [video shows unidentified correspondent seated at small table opposite Silayev, leafing through two thick documents; correspondent holds up two sheets of a document, giving partial view of title and of list of participants in the working group, with their signatures appended]

[Correspondent] On the table are two large volumes. These volumes were drafted by the working group formed by the joint decision of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin: "The Transition to the Market. Part One—the Outline and the Program." The outline and program for transition to the market were drafted between 2 and 31 August by a working group composed of—well, the composition of the group is listed here, with eminent names such as Shatalin, Petrakov, Yavlinskiy, and Zadornov. Representatives of the republics also took part in the work. So much for the program. Ivan Stepanovich, what are the main characteristics of this program, the main stages of the transition to a market?

[Silayev] As you can see, these are quite bulky documents; they total 570 pages. The first part covers the intent of the program itself, its main sections, and contains 270 pages; 200 pages are in the next volume—this is the draft for the main legislative documents.

[Correspondent] This is also important. It is: "The Transition to the Market. Part Two—the Draft Legislative Acts." That is, without the laws, you cannot have the transition to the market, either.

[Silayev] That is right. That is, here we have the program, while this is mechanism for its implementation. You have said that the people taking part in this group, headed by Academician Shatalin, are quite authoritative people. Apart from the core participants—there are 13 of them here—there is also a large group of people called in, both specialists and institutes, from republics, and even representatives from various workers' movements. Nevertheless, a timeframe from 2 August to 31 August is very compressed and short to compile such a colossal work, full of profound and detailed content; you just cannot create it in such a time.

[Correspondent] Understandably. In general, the ideas and outlines of the authors of this program were used.

[Silayev] I would like to invite you to take a quick look at this. The fact is that long before now, at the beginning of this year, to be precise, the 400-days program was drafted. It is entitled "400 Days of Trust." [holds up

pamphlet with this title for camera] Its authors are Yavlinskiy, Mikhaylov, and Zadornov. All these authors are members of the USSR Council of Ministers States Commission on Economic Reform. Thus, one can say that this document was not created from scratch, but that its foundations were laid in February of this year. Moreover, it was conceived not as a republican, Russian program, but as a program on a Union scale. All the more so, since it came in to being in a Union-scale commission. They wrote this program for the country and, if you like, for the president.

[Correspondent] Then I have a follow-up question. If this program was written for the president, and the outline for transition to the market was being adopted in June, why was this program not adopted, and why has the program proposed by Academician Abalkin now taken priority?

[Silayev] Yes, these questions are quite relevant, and I will explain why. At the same time as there was work on the program of the Union government, with Academician Abalkin in charge, this program was coming into being in the depths of this commission. And in the spring of this year, Grigoriy Alekseyevich Yavlinskiy showed it to comrade Abalkin. The latter defined his attitude to the program as negative—we have his interview in TRUD of 21 August, where he said that this program was divorced from reality, that there were many weak points, and in short, he did not accept it. Then Yavlisnkiy asked for permission to send this program abroad. At the time a very earnest international symposium on economic transformations in the countries of East Europe, including the Soviet Union, was in progress in Vienna, Austria. There, this program made a very powerful impression, and gained positive appraisal from leading experts in the world economy. Events then unfolded like this: The basis principles of this program became known...

[Correspondent interrupts] ...to the government of Russia?

[Silayev] Let's say, not to the government of Russia—this did not exist yet—but to the people's deputies. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin heard about it. Then the new Russian government was formed. The authors of this program were invited to become part of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, and in particular, Yavlinskiy became my deputy for the economic reform.

[Correspondent] It is a Russian program. How then will it find a common language—if it can be said like that—with the Union program? On the whole, as far as I know, there are fundamentally different interpretations and discord here. Yet at the same time, the document was prepared, as it were, jointly—by the Union and the repblican government.

[Silayev] Well, I have to say to you, that from the very beginning, the authors of that document prepared that program as a Union one. It was, well, later that it was snatched up by the deputies of the Russian Federation and sounded out as a republican program. But there cannot be a republican program of the transition to market relations, when one is part of the Union and declares adherence [pauses]...to work as part of the Federation. And the declaration of the first congress of deputies of the Russian Federation proclaimed that Russia remains, and will exist and function as part of the Union, as part of the Federation, that we will have a united market, and so forth. Consequently, a program which is essentially a Union one is needed, although it will have certain shades of some republican features. And well, that is a Union program.

[Correspondent] And now, well, what are the main stages of the transition, the structure of the transition? Because, well, as I have already asked you, everybody is already speaking of that program, on the whole, the 500-day program is generally known about. But, on the whole its specific features, its essence, are not yet widely known.

[Silayev] I would say the following. That main feature is a clear definition of what ought to happen in what time limits. There has not always, not everywhere, been, well, an unequivocal perception of how one can say what day, Friday or Saturday [chuckles] there is still not a market economy, while on Monday, there is a market economy. That is not what was, or is, meant. Well, all the stages, and there is a quite specific number of stages here— they have their concrete ties, their sequence, one after the other, and time, let's say, that section of time, when, on what day, and there is also in how many hundreds of days; the new stages begin following on the previous stages. That is a very strict formulation which demands from each executor, from each participant in that program, clear actions, an exceptionally responsible attitude, while, at the same time, it, such a program, allows the people, the public, to follow what is happening at a specific stage of whatever batch of 10 or of 100 days.

[Correspondent] Ivan Stepanovich, will it be possible to acquaint oneself with it? Will it be published?

[Silayev] In the first place, we will publish it, as it is intended, in a separate book, a separate brochure. We will try to ensure that it is a rather major print-run. We will try, as far as is possible—obviously by way of supplement, let's say to the EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA and other newspapers—to publish it in full, although it is capacious. But it is absolutely necesary. And, strictly speaking, we want this, for it will not be a normal 500-day program if there is no public control over how these stages are implemented, over how these schedules are being fulfilled. Moreover, our plan is not only a one-way movement. Let's say, well, the leaders receive a task; they begin to work within the framework of the concrete stage, of the concrete period. The population ought to introduce itself into these stages, too, in a certain way.

[Correspondent] Of course, we ourselves are part of all economic relations of the economic structure.

[Silayev] That is quite right. That is a two-way movement.

[Correspondent] Which of the stages in the implementation of this program do you consider to be the most difficult; of the necessary stages, which is the most decisive?

[Silayev] You know, there are no simple stages here. But, all the same, I would say that the first 100 days are the most difficult stage. There was a great temptation to add another 100 days, but we had already announced it to the people, and we understand that one cannot spend and ask for a long time, especially confidence for a lengthy period. Therefore, the most complicated, the most compressed, the most difficult is the first 100 days of the program of emergency measures. One hundred days is three months.

[Correspondent] Three months. You think that they will start from 1 October, that means October, November, December.

[Silayev] That's quite right. But the practical start...

[Correspondent interrupts] And in general, in actual fact, the most difficult stage for the country's economic life generally is the end of the year.

[Silayev] Well, first, second, for all that time is needed to get into the swing of it, to comprehend it, to gain an understanding of it, to give it time to gain momentum. Somehow rhythm already emerges, some kind of deeper understanding and so forth appears, some kind of worked out mechanism is obtained. These 100 days will have passed before we know it. But the fact is that we are saying that the main processes in entering upon market relations must take place, starting from 1 January, and thereafter. And it is very important that we should enter upon that period in the early days of next year, for all that, with the implementation of definite measures which would allow some kind of minimal basis for the movement toward the second stage to be created, that catastrophic process of deterioration and complication, of economic impoverishment to be stopped. Here emergency measures are needed. They are called the first stage, the first 100 days of the program of emergency measures. The republics have the main part to play in this program.

[Correspondent] The republics.

[Silayev] And in this program, or here at this table [video shows Silayev pointing toward a diagram] you will see the structure that the commission is submitting for examination by the session.

[Correspondent] One of the last questions. What obstructions, what forces do you see, may impede the introduction of this program for the transition to the market?

[Silayev] The main forces is people's mentality. For all that, over 70 years of the development of our society much has not only been forgotten, but much has disappeared, even from our vocabulary; the way of living and the way of thinking are quite different. One has to become accustomed to the fact that we will have private property too.

Today, at the session, an interesting issue was raised. It is proposed that a law should be passed on the sanctity of personal and private property. Immediately it somehow has a new ring to it. Personal property is understandable. But we spoke more about state property, about the struggle to combat the misappropriation of state property, and so forth. Then we started to speak about personal property, and we are still talking about the sanctity of private property. Even when said out loud, it is difficult to take it in. All this has to become established in our mentality, in people's ideas, in our way of life today. I think the main task is to help our citizens to gain an understanding of this, to comprehend the essence of these processes, to convince them about it. This program envisages this, a whole set of propaganda and explanatory measures, if you like, for preparing the working people to work in these conditions. They are afraid of this. This will probably be the most complicated thing, to convince and help people to master the principles of functioning in market conditions.

[Correspondent] Principles of life?

[Silayev] Well, naturally, yes, the principles of life. But, of course, the main thing, the most effectively convincing is when goods have appeared, when foodstuffs have appeared, and so on.

Moscow Council Official Outlines City Problems

LD0509221190 Moscow TASS in English 2040 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Yuriy Luzhkov, chairman of the Moscow Council Executive Committee, said that the situation in Moscow is difficult but can be kept under control.

He spoke here today at a news conference dealing with the situation in Moscow and forecasts for the development of this situation, as well as with measures being taken by the Moscow Council to switch to market relations.

He said that Moscow is inseparable from the state. Changes taking place in the country influence the city. This influence is aggravated by some peculiar features, including the fact that about two million people daily come to Moscow.

Luzhkov said that the new executive committee disbanded chief administrations subordinated to the City Council. As a result, 2,000 administrative workers left the municipal management system.

But this cut has not affected negatively the operation of municipal services. On the contrary, there is great dynamism, flexibility and efficiency in tackling various problems.

The number of people employed by the state sector decreased by 200,000. Some 250,000 people work at 9,000 cooperative societies. A total of 3,000 people are self-employed.

About 300 joint ventures operate in the city. The number of registered joint ventures is edging on 1,000. The number of lease-holding enterprises reached 12 per cent in municipal industries.

Some 300 shops and public catering establishments also switched to lease-holding.

Luzhkov called the food problem as the key issue facing the Moscow Council. He said that the present tobacco crisis was not something unexpected. It was caused by inaction of the country's governing bodies.

He admitted at the same time that the city fathers were not ready for a shortage of bread which emerged late in August. Luzhkov added that this problem would be settled in the near future.

According to Luzhkov, the shortage of sugar and meat were caused by inadequate supplies from the western Ukraine and other republics.

Moscow To Set Up Commission To Register Parties

LD3008204690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 30 Aug (TASS)—The Moscow Soviet Presidium and the Moscow City Executive Committee have decided to set up a commission to register all political parties and public organizations, as well as organs of the mass media in the capital.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, Leonid Abayushkin, secretary of the Soviet's interdepartmental commission on public associations, said that "recognition by an organ of soviet power such as the Moscow Soviet makes it possible for a public association to achieve legal status." "This means that it can open a bank account, enter into relations with law enforcement bodies and have its own publications and letterheads." After registration with the Moscow Soviet an organization will be able to register with the Ministry for External Economic Relations as a participant in external economic activities and as a holder of hard currency.

Parties Register With Moscow Soviet

LD0509153390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Political parties have just been registered with the Moscow Soviet. Among them are the Moscow organization of the Democratic Party of Russia and the Christian Democratic Union of Russia and the Organizational Committee of the Russian Party (Democratic Platform). Many other applications have come in, including from two Kadet parties. One of these, to judge by all accounts, is starting up from scratch, while the other considers itself the successor of the not-unknown party which held its sixth congress in 1917. The so-called successors assert that nobody disbanded the party. They insist that their rules be recognized in the same form as that of the former party of constitutional democrats.

Western Republics

Moldavian Leaders Brief Gorbachev on Situation

LD0509191190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the USSR, Snegur, president of the Moldovan Republic, and Druk, chairman of the Republican Council of Ministers, has taken place in the Kremlin. They informed the USSR president about the political situation in the republic and about the measures being taken to stabilize the situation. The supreme leaders of Moldova reaffirmed their conviction that the Moldovan sovereign republic can successfully develop and advance along the path of social renewal only as a part of the USSR together with the other union states and all the peoples of the country. They drew attention to the need for the swiftest transition of the economy of the whole country to new economic relations on the basis of an all-Union market, stable economic relations, and the preparation of a new Union treaty.

Comrade Gorbachev said that he firmly stands on positions of protecting the republic's integrity as part of a union of sovereign states and solving all questions by political methods on the basis of mutual respect, mutual understanding, accord, and goodwill. Interethnic relations are a particularly delicate matter, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev went on to say. They require balanced solutions and precise consideration being given to the whole gamut of interests and the consequences of any steps taken. Emotions, suspicions, and especially confrontation can confuse and complicate the situation.

Comrade Gorbachev reaffirmed the intention of the republican leaders to adopt urgent political measures to normalize the situation in the republic.

Comrade Yakovlev, member of the USSR Presidential Council, took part in the conversation.

Moldavia Holds Emergency Supreme Soviet Session

'New Republics' Discussed

LD0409213290 Moscow TASS in English 2055 GMT 4 Sep 90

[by TASS correspondents Anatoly Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev, Moldavia, September 5 TASS—The emergency session of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of Moldavia, which discussed the situation in the republic after ethnic minorities proclaimed their independence from Moldavia, has suspended its work.

It decided to send 12 groups of deputies to 33 districts including in the new Gagauz and Dniestr republics, which the parliament said were established illegally.

The deputies will meet members of the ethnic minorities and help stabilise the situation.

It was pointed out that "this does not mean recognition of the two new republics and cannot be regarded as the beginning of negotiations with their leaders, who should be made accountable."

The session will make a final decision after the deputies return from the trip.

On Tuesday, the parliament elected Aleksandr Moshanu its new chairman. He has replaced Mircha Snegur, who was elected Moldavian president. Moshanu won by 212 votes to seven.

In his first speech as Supreme Soviet chairman, Moshanu, who was member of the central committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, said he was leaving the party.

Situation Deemed 'Critical'

LD0409213890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today in Kishinev the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of Moldova ended its work.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Dragan] It would seem that the capital of Moldova is going about life with its usual concerns. But, unfortunately, that is only external calm, for the events that are taking place in the republic at the present time indicate that the political situation here is close to a critical one. This arises from the separatist actions of the leaders of some southern areas and regions along the Dniestr, where the setting up of two Union republics has been proclaimed. The session of the Supreme Soviet has proclaimed these decisions illegal and has repealed them. But it looks as if neither in the south nor in the Dniestr areas do they wish as yet to listen to the voice of parliament. Here they have set about forming their own state structures, and the preparations have begun for elections to the Supreme Soviets of these republics.

This is the situation in which the session worked, too. The deputies instituted the post of president; Mircha Ivanovich Snegur, who formerly worked at the chairman of the Moldovan Supreme Soviet, was elected by open ballot.

[M.I. Snegur] The most difficult moment was when the issue reached a climax here at the discussions at the session; there was the support for us and the assurance, in any event we felt the support of the country's president who spoke to me personally on the telephone, then I conveyed this appeal to the members of parliament, and promised that as has been the case thus far, thanks to the kindness of the indigenous population, the goodness of the Moldovan people, we will do everything possible to ensure that things are not brought to a head.

[Dragan] And should these regions fail to obey the decisions of the session, do you intend to introduce presidential government? You have the right to do that.

[Snegur] In the changes in the constitution of Moldova adopted yesterday, parliament has given me the right and naturally, should the need arise, I shall take advantage of this right as well. I reiterate yet again that I am reckoning first and foremost on common sense. [end recording]

KGB Chief Briefs Meeting

LD0609035190 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of Moldova has held a meeting behind closed doors to discuss the situation in the republic. The KGB Chief (Tudor Butnarol) said that there were no armed groups on Moldavian territory, although the psychological strain whipped up by separatist elements had resulted in the practice of setting up what are described as self defense units at industrial plants.

Deputies Visit Gagauz, Dniestr

LD0509161290 Moscow TASS in English 1557 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev September 5 TASS—Deputy groups, set up at the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of Moldavia, today left for cities and regions on the territory of the recently proclaimed Gagauz and Dniestr republics.

They seek to brief the population of these cities and regions about Supreme Soviet activity. Scores of telegrams arriving at the Moldavian parliament indicate that people are concerned about the proclamation of the new republics.

The parliament held a closed meeting early today. Heads of the procurator's office, law-enforcement agencies and the KGB briefed deputies on the situation in the south and left bank of the republic. KGB Chairman Tudor Butnaru said, in part: "There are no illegally armed groups on Moldavian territory at present. However, as a

consequence of tensions whipped up by left-bank separatists, so-called self-defense detachments are being formed at some enterprises."

Moldavian Interior Minister Ion Kostash said that all local units of the Interior Ministry had been put under its control. Hunting rifles are being confiscated from the population in southern Moldavia, where the Gaguaz republic was proclaimed.

The majority of deputies agreed that to normalise the situation in the republic, political measures and direct dialogue with the population should be emphasised.

Moldavian Volunteer Law Enforcement Groups Set Up

LD0509210390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] On the situation in the south of Moldova. Despite the decision of the emergency session of the Moldovan Supreme Soviet, which declared the proclamation of the Gagauz Soviet Socialist Republic in the south of the republic unconstitutional, the provisional committee formed by the congress of Gagauz deputies is operating there. It includes more than 40 people's deputies of all levels. They are concerned at the intensification of anti-Gagauz sentiments on the part of the state bodies of Moldova. There was an attempt to bring in a curfew in areas with pockets of Gagauz population. However, a 10,000 strong national gathering which assembly stayed all night on the square until it had the subunits of the Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs withdrawn from the areas. At present the committee has formed detachments of volunteer law-enforcers, the main task of which is to prevent disorders and provocations. It will be more difficult to combat crime, since the Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs has disarmed the internal affairs bodies of the Gagauz republic. The provisional committee has proposed to the Republic of Moldova that they start negotiations and jointly seek a sensible compromise with the aim of genuine sovereignty of the Moldavian and Gagauz peoples.

Kravchuk Meets Crimean Deputies, Discusses Tatars

LD0409105690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 4 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the Crimea Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, has met deputies to the local soviets of the oblast.

[V. Plotnikov] One of the questions which the chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet looked into was the return of Crimean Tatars to their motherland and the problems connected with it—for example the unauthorized seizure of land. Today there are more than 3,000 such plots in the oblast, with 700 foundations laid, and more than 2,000 temporary structures already built. Such unauthorized settlements on collective [kolkhoz] and state farms [sovkhoz] are leading to justified protests from local people. However, at the same time these illegal acts reflect the sluggishness of the authorities, the lack of organization, and the chaos of the people's return.

[Begin Kravchuk recording] The Crimean Tatar people have the right to resettle on the land from which they were illegally deported. This is clear to everyone. Inevitably, collisions are arising because of the violation of rights and the trampling of the rights of people who live here. For example, I consider that the Ukraine Supreme Soviet should adopt documents and acts determining the status of the Crimea according to the wishes of the Crimean people, because this question is being raised very actively: What is the Crimea and the status of the Crimea to be? A republic, an oblast, an autonomous entity? After all, we all live in one state. There are regions now densely populated by Crimean Tatars. The republics where they live must understand the Crimean problem now just as the Crimean people do, and must not in any way stimulate the resettlement of these people. The desire to resettle is legitimate, but there is a need for a single territory, there is a need for economic conditions, and there is a need for labor conditions. All aspects will be taken into account, and then the question will be solved as it should be: according to conscience, honor, and the law. [end recording]

Land in Crimea 'Arbitrarily Seized' by Tatars

LD0509154190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] From the Crimea: To date there are more than 3,000 plots of land here arbitrarily seized by Crimean Tatars. They have put up more than 200 temporary buildings. People are resorting to this kind of illegal activity without waiting for the problems relating to the resettlement of the Crimean Tatars to be dealt with by the local authorities and the national government. The uncontrolled resettlements are inciting speculation in residential houses and building materials and the prices for these in the Crimea have soared several times over.

Dnepropetrovsk First Secretary Relieved of Duties

LD0409191790 Kiev International Service in English 2300 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] A plenary meeting of the Dnepropetrovsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has satisfied a request by Mykola Zadoya and released him of the duties of the first secretary of the regional committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. As Mykola Zadoya stated in his interview for mass media, his decision may be explained by impossibility to combine simultaneously two posts—of the first secretary and the chairman of the City Council of Dnepropetrovsk.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Official on Union Treaty

90UN2749 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 34, 2-9 Sep 90 p 4

[Interview with Vladimir Grinev, by Vadim Dolganov in Kiev; date not given: "Need for Stability"]

Vladimir Grinev, vice chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, returned from Moscow after consultations on the new Union treaty were completed.

[Grinev] It seemed to me that at the meeting in the Kremlin the representatives of the so-called centre who spoke constantly about a 'renewal of the Union, imparting a new significance to it' poorly understood the republics' aspirations—the Ukraine's included—to escape from the present closed circle. We voluntarily travel to make a new Union treaty, realizing our sovereignty. The centre is not more then a place for consultation. The main talks must continue amoung the republics."

[Dolganov] But all the power, as before, is in the centre's hands.

[Grinev] In the framework of this new Union treaty, the entire structure of this power must be radically changed. Today we have in the centre a general Union budget, and the means are distributed from top to bottom. I think this should not be so. Only concrete all-Union programmes should be financed. The centre must act as the republics say.

[Dolganov] Will the Union in such a case be a state?

[Grinev] If we speak about a confederation, that is already not a state in a classical understanding, but an association of sovereign countries. But, on the other hand, if we yield nearly unanimously strategic defence, space research, and ecological problems to the centre, then how are these functions to be realized if the Union doesn't have the rights of a state? And if the Union splits into independent states, that approach each other no one knows how, the rest of the world may face dangerous and unstable neighbors, heavily armed with nuclear weapons as well. And, of course, the market economy will serve as the mightiest stimulus for unification.

[Dolganov] Will the all-Union market not damage republican sovereignty?

[Grinev] We can't get anywhere without the market, even if it destroys the monopoly of the republican type.

[Dolganov] Are you not afraid that your thoughts are obviously out of touch with the "national idea," which has a lot of advocates in the Ukraine?

[Grinev] I'm for a contructive national resurrection, for the blossoming of the Ukrainian people. At the same time, I am an old enemy of the narrow-nationalist idea. It is secondary to economic or political problems.

[Dolganov] As far as I know, it is planned that the Union treaty will be adopted by a Congress of People's Deputies. What do you think about that?

[Grinev] The idea is absurd. Only the republican parliaments, and only after referendums, and public polls, can decide on the Union treaty. And once the Union treaty is adopted, the Congress must stop functioning at once. The treaty, by the way, is called upon to also change the country's Constitution—there simply won't be any need for it.

Ukrainian Republican Party Rally Opposes Treaty

PM0509140290 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Colonel A. Polyakov dispatch under "Direct Line" rubric: "Republican Party—Against a Treaty"]

[Text] Kiev—A huge bear personifying the Soviet Union, seizes the Ukraine in its claws and drags it toward itself. Leaflets featuring this drawing were distributed in Kiev in the last days of August. And on Sunday 2 September the Ukrainian Republican Party organized a rally under the slogan: "No to a Union treaty." The speakers' demands centered on the creation of a free, fully independent Ukraine, not linked by any treaty to the Union, and secession from the "Russian Empire." There were a couple of hundred people shouting at the rally, and about 4,000 listening, but the organizers, without a trace of shame, declared that they were adopting a resolution in the name of a 40,000-strong rally.

A noteworthy incident took place during the adoption of the resolution. When the leader of the rally asked who was against, a firm voice, trembling very slightly, called out: "Me." An elderly man climbed up to the microphone on the platform:

"Comrades, Russians and Ukrainians—brothers..."

The shouters at once set to work: "Shame," "Stalinist," "The devil is your friend"...

"You don't frighten me," P. Roshchupkin, a veteran of the front and bearer of five orders, declared. "But I call on you to think again...."

He was not allowed to finish speaking.

Usually at such rallies the speakers are long-established figures, but new names appear as well. Major L. Brovchenko, a Vinnitsa City Military Commissariat staffer, came here out of concern for the setting up of a Ukrainian national army. In his speech he too demanded independence for the Ukraine, handed out autographs, and listened to praise from those who were already calling him "our colonel."

Right here at the rally, the organizers informed those taking part about its "month's plan" of work—picketing the KGB, holding a requiem in memory of the followers

of Bandera, the "heroes" of the Ukrainian Insurgents Army, and, most important of all, organizing at the end of September, before the republic Supreme Soviet session starts work, a national political strike, demanding no more and no less than the dissolution of the current Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

Corruption Exposed in Kharkov Oblast Party

PM0509102590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[INTERFAX report: "Abuses: 84 Instances"]

[Text] The Kharkov City Soviet Deputies' Commission, specially created at the request of voters, has uncovered 84 instances of abuses by Ukrainian Communist Party Oblast Committee personnel in the distribution of apartments.

Meanwhile, according to city soviet executive committee data, there are less than two square meters per person available for the 644 families waiting for apartments. There are also 480 war invalids and 250 tuberculosis sufferers waiting in line for housing. The commission carried out a check on housing distribution and proposed calling the culprits to account and instituting proceedings at the people's court before 1 October to cancel the vouchers issued in breach of legislation. In the view of prosecutor Vasiliy Nikonov, these measures are hardly likely to produce the necessary results. In 54 instances the period of the statute of limitations, set at three years, has elapsed. As for 30 "new" cases, the situation is complicated by the fact the abuses involve certain deputies—at various levels, with deputy's immunity. "Nevertheless, we must bring the matter to a close and publicize it, in order to ensure social justice in housing distribution in the future," Yevgeniy Kushnarev, chairman of the Kharkov City Soviet told an INTERFAX correspondent.

Deserting Soldiers' Mothers Hold Rally in Kiev

LD0309202790 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Mothers of soldiers have held a rally in the central square in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev. Some young men drafted in the Ukraine have deserted their Army units based in Caucasian and Central Asian republics and elsewhere in this country. In keeping with legislation, upon their arrival in the Ukraine the servicemen were taken into custody. In response part of the young men went on a hunger strike. Simultaneously their mothers organized pickets of the district headquarters. On the day when the rally was held, the Kiev Military District Command published an address saying that the soldiers who deserted their units must return to their bases.

Ukraine Supreme Soviet Publishes Own Paper

LD0409181890 Kiev International Service in English 2300 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet has taken a decision to create and publish its own newspaper, which will be called HOLOS UKRAINY, Voice of the Ukraine, and will be issued 300 days a year. As Serhiy Pravdenko, head of the permanent parliamentary commission for questions of [word indistinct] and mass media, said in his interview, newspaper HOLOS UKRAINY will give equal opportunities for both the rightist and leftist forces to express their positions and different points of view.

Italian Ship Causes Fuel Spill in Odessa Harbor

PM0609083790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Correspondent V. Vasilets report: "Foreign Currency By the Barrel"]

[Text] Odessa, 1 Sep—The last oil slick on the sea's surface was intercepted some three kilometers away from the shore. The oil and water mixture has been taken away for processing. This marked the conclusion of an operation to cope with an accident in Odessa Harbor, caused by the crew of the Italian ship Himalaya Secundo.

As a matter of fact, the incident will be closed when the injured party receives 500,000 foreign currency rubles as compensation for the ecological damage which was caused. The ship's captain has signed the relevant pledge documents.

There was no indication at all that a calamity was about to occur. The foreign motor vessel was taking on fuel at the No. 1 berth in the evening. The pumps were working normally, filling the tanks with mazut. Suddenly, a squall developed out of the blue, turning into a thunderstorm and torrential rainfall. Following standard operational procedures, the operatives ceased fueling. This should have been registered by the recipient crew on board. But they also had taken shelter from the elements inside the superstructure, taking it easy there as it were, and missed the time when the pumps started pumping fuel again. The alarm was raised when the tanks overfilled and torrents of mazut started flowing overboard. According to counter readings, about 50 tonnes of fuel were spilled.

Caucasus

State of Emergency in Armenia Continues

Curfew Goes Into Effect

PM0409110590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Report by V. Nazaryan and R. Khachatryan from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] As reported earlier, a state of emergency has been introduced in Armenia by decision of the republic parliament.

[Reporter] At 2200 last night, a curfew came into force in Armenia. People expected a turbulent night. However, despite certain gloomy predictions, and possibly even wishful thinking, Yerevan woke up calm and confident.

Opening the parliament session today with a report on the first hours of the state of emergency, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, noted, with good reason, that last night was the quietest night in the past six months.

Until yesterday the headquarters of the Armenian National Army [ANA] were located in this building at the very center of Yerevan. Last night, after lengthy talks attended by people's deputies, republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and KGB leaders, the ANA Military Council, and its chairman R. Vasilyan, the latter, complying with a resolution of the Supreme Soviet, announced that their military organization was disbanding. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] The state of emergency in Armenia will remain in force until the situation has completely stabilized.

Activities of ANA Reported

LD0309222590 Moscow TASS in English 2002 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By ARMENPRESS-TASS correspondent Gagik Melkumyan]

[Text] The situation in Armenia is gradually returning to normal, Kim Balayan, member of the parliamentary permanent commission on legal questions, told the morning session of the republican parliament here today.

He read out loud findings by the republican procurator's office on the investigation of events on the night between August 28-29, during which lawmaker Viktor Aivazyan and Gekhaznik Mikaelyan, member of a volunteer law and order squad, were fatally wounded by gunmen from the Armenian National Army (ANA).

The procurator's office instituted criminal proceedings and began the investigation of the case. Several ANA leaders were put into custody pending trial.

According to a communique by the Armenian Interior Ministry, law enforcement forces continue measures to implement the decision by the republican parliament of August 29, declaring a state of emergency and a curfew.

The parliamentary debate on setting up some permanent commissions was interrupted by speeches by legislators Vladimir Agadzhanyan and Arkadiy Manucharov.

They described the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh region, Shaumyan district and Getasheny subdistrict of Azerbaijan, where "Azerbaijani authorities are committing reprisals and violence against the Armenian people to force them leave homes."

The deputies demanded that the Armenian Supreme Soviet take measures to ensure the rights and security of the Armenian population.

On a proposal by the deputy chairman of the parliament and with the agreement of deputies, this question was examined at a closed session. It is expected that the mass media will receive information about its results tomorrow morning.

ANA 'No Longer Exists'

LD0509123490 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] The danger of a civil war in Armenia has been eliminated. This has been announced by noted political figures of the republic following the completion of an operation to disarm the Armenian National Army [ANA]. The chairman of Armenia's parliament, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, has confirmed that this army no longer exists as an organization. The force was set up six months ago to defend Armenia's borders. However, recently, as Ter-Petrosyan explained, its actions had run counter to the policy of settling the conflict with neighboring Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region by peaceful means.

Another Armed Group Disbands

NC0409133090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0600 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] The general congress of the David of Sasun public organization met and discussed the present situation in the republic that has developed because of the existence of the armed groups. It passed a relevant decision.

Proceeding from the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet decision on the introduction of the state of emergency, the general congress of the David of Sasun public organization resolves:

1. To disband the armed detachments of the David of Sasun organization;

2. To surrender the (?arms) to the Supreme Soviet;

3. To call on other armed groups to follow the example of the David of Sasun and thus (?enhance hope) in the new parliament of our republic.

Armenia Appoints Internal Minister, KGB Chief

NC0409101890 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Yerevan, 3 Sep (ARMENPRES)—Taking into consideration the complex situation prevailing in the republic, Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers, asked the Armenian

parliament to confirm the appointment of two important departments even before the formation of the new government: Usik Arutyunyan as chairman of the Committee for State Security, and Karlos Kazaryan as minister of the internal affairs.

The parliament overwhelmingly confirmed Usik Arutyunyan as chairman of the Committee for State Security. Arutyunyan, aged 45, was until recently the internal affairs minister of the republic and prior to that, the deputy chairman of the Committee for State Security. He served as minister of internal affairs during the years of Armenian national liberation struggle and during that period he emerged as a person with democratic and progressive views. During that period the officials of the Internal Affairs Ministry had given considerable support to the defense of the national interests of the people and had sided with it.

The Armenian parliament confirmed Karlos Kazaryan, aged 52, as the new internal affairs minister of Armenia. He too received a positive assessment. He too was confirmed with an overwhelming majority of votes.

Armenian Internal Affairs Minister Interviewed

PM0509142690 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Single Edition p 6

[Interview with K. Kazaryan, newly appointed Armenian internal affairs minister, by special correspondent S. Shevtsov; place and date not given: "Matter of Honor: Interview With New Armenian Internal Affairs Minister"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] As already reported, a session of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet has confirmed K. Kazaryan in his post as the republic's new minister of internal affairs. He is a colonel and a graduate of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Ordzhonikidze College, the Frunze Military Academy, and the MVD Academy. Until recently he was Armenian deputy internal affairs minister.

[Shevtsov] Karlos Bagratovich, you have been appointed to this post at a difficult time. How do you plan to begin work?

[Kazaryan] We have already begun. We are trying to arouse the public; that is the most important thing, especially since the militia are under great stress today. But recently they have become more active: Militia operations to confiscate weapons from criminals give reason to believe that the internal affairs organs are fulfilling their task of establishing order. However, I repeat that today only the people, the populace alone are the decisive force in the stabilization of the situation. Those who have the people behind them will triumph.

[Shevtsov] How do you regard the operational situation in the republic today?

[Kazaryan] It remains tense although we are monitoring it. Reports in the past two to three days show that the crime rate has fallen sharply. And in the main the crimes that are being committed are what I would call the everyday, routine type. But of course, we still have a vast amount of work to do.

[Shevtsov] In your opinion, when will it be possible to lift the state of emergency and the curfew?

[Kazaryan] It is hard to say. We will act in the light of the actual situation. But I must note that the curfew in our country is unlike an ordinary curfew: It is directed exclusively against criminals and certainly does not restrict the rights of all citizens. Therefore life here, as you see, is taking its customary, normal course.

[Shevtsov] How are relations between the local authorities and the Internal Troops shaping up?

[Kazaryan] I am a graduate of the Internal Troops and therefore I have deep respect for them. But we would very much like to cleanse ourselves of the dirt that has attached itself to us recently so as not to involve young men from other republics in this dangerous work. This is a matter of our honor.

'Arcom' Personnel in Armenia Stage Strike

AU0409082790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1809 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Yerevan (ROMPRES) 3/9/1990—The Romanian employers [as received] of the "Arcom" branch in Armenia went on strike Monday, September 3. Their strike is sympathetic with their colleagues' working at the ore enrichment plant at Krivoi Rog, southern Ukraine. Among the strikers' claims are: salaries in convertible currency, improved working conditions, boarding, transportation, duty-free customs, facilities for the workers' families in Romania. The strikers in Armenia are asking for immediate analysis of their claims by delegates authorized by the government, the relevant ministry and "Arcom" Bucharest.

Yerevan Reports Measures for Energy Saving

NC0409145990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0459 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] Attention: The Armenian Electricity Authority informs the republic's enterprises and organizations that the supply of power will be reduced until 2300 from the first to fifth (?work shifts). Those enterprises which fail to implement the power curtailment measures will face strict penalties, including the complete termination of power supply.

Tension Continues on Armenia-Azerbaijan Border

Troops Near NKAO 'Necessary'

LD0509200390 Moscow TASS in English 1846 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By ARMENPRESS-TASS correspondent Gagik Melkumyan]

[Text]—The Armenian parliament today passed a statement on the Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] autonomous region.

The statement points out, in particular, that the rights of the Armenian population of this region have been trampled underfoot after the imposition of a state of emergency and disbandment of legitimate bodies of Soviet power in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Azerbaijani leadership does everything to force Armenians to leave their homes, to change the demographic situation. Interethnic relations have deteriorated, and Armenia and Azerbaijan are on the verge of war.

The Armenian parliament and government opted for negotiations to solve the conflict, and it seemed that such a position should have suited Azerbaijan and central authorities. However, this did not follow.

"The Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh continues to be subject to terror on the part of Azerbaijani authorities, assisted by the units of the Soviet Army and Interior Ministry troops."

"There is also a blockade of Armenia on the railroad and the gas pipeline," the statement points out.

In these conditions, the Armenian parliament believes it necessary to deploy immediately units of the Interior Ministry troops and the Soviet Army along the administrative borders of Nagorno-Karabakh and adjacent areas with predominantly Armenian population, to restore the bodies of Soviet power, self-government at localities, as well as to unblock Armenian villages in Nagorno- Karabakh. Only this can help avoid grave consequences and shift from the dangerous plane of confrontation into the plane of interstate negotiations, the statement points out.

NKAO Situation Viewed

NC0409144890 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Stepanakert, 3 Sep (ARMENPRES)—The more the country advances towards freedom and democracy, the more the Armenians of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] find themselves deprived of their rights. It is hard to imagine another corner of the world where for almost two years people have lived under a special state of emergency situation in a time of peace. Everyone, from the elderly to the young, is fed up with this injustice. The inhumane treatment of the entire population of the oblast forces one to conclude that the major powers of this world have apparently decided to sacrifice Artsakh [NKAO] and its people for their political interests.

The military commandant of the state of emergency area and the radio broadcasts of the Organizational Committee seem to believe that they never err in their activities. Only Armenian "nationalists," "extremists," and "terrorists" are to be blamed for everything. Maksim Mirzoyan, editor of KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH—SOVETSKIY KARABAKH, also came under attack for alleged instigatory activity. The commandant's office believes that he is allowing the publication of provocative material in his paper about the alteration of the demographic situation in favor of Azerbaijan and about the intention of Azerbaijan, which wants to organize a bloody reprisal against the Armenians, to pack the NKAO with Azerbaijani bandit organizations. The military commandant's statement apparently refers to an open letter published in the paper and addressed to the president of the USSR by local administrative bodies and public organizations. The statement stresses that "henceforth such an attitude shall be regarded as a premeditated act aimed at creating confrontation between the residents of the city and the forces which defend the life and security of the Armenian population of the NKAO and Stepanakert."

It remains to be seen who is intruding into the life and security of the Armenians of Stepanakert and the NKAO. Sadly, there is no word about that in the statement. The not unknown General V. Safonov said in an interview in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on 23 August—which by the way the Azerbaijani papers published with great satisfaction—that one of the responsibilities of the Internal Troops in the NKAO is to prevent the forcible eviction of the Armenians. If the general is really speaking the truth, then how can he explain the harassment of the very same Armenians who are merely struggling to remain forever on the land of their ancestors? Who will answer this question? Is the continued deprivation of the rights of the Armenians of Artsakh to the benefit of all the sovereign republics, communists, democrats, rightists and leftists as well as of those in the middle? Do we expect extraterrestrials to solve the NKAO problem?

Order Established in Rayons

NC0409160690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] AZERINFORM correspondents report that this is the fourth day helicopters bearing Armenian identification markings have not landed in the town of (?Sarkent) in Khanlarskiy Rayon. This is because the troops of the USSR Internal Ministry have taken control of the helicopter landing area. Law and order is being established in the town, which formerly disregarded the instructions of the rayon's soviet, party, and law enforcement organs.

It is well known that residents of (?Sarkent), together with the armed men who were sent by the illegal bandit groups in Armenia to assist them, organized terrorist activities against the residents of neighboring Azerbaijani towns. The armed men stoned vehicles, beat up their passengers and drivers, seized belongings and [word indistinct], and damaged the Aksu-Gendzha water pipeline. A radio station also operated in that town. It carried [word indistinct] programs and maintained systematic links with its headquarters in Armenia. All this has now been ended.

Meanwhile, Kazakhskiy Rayon's border region has been relatively calm for the third day, although the region remains tense. Suleymanov, acting chairman of the Kazakhskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee, told an AZERINFORM correspondent: The residents of four towns in Kazakhskiy Rayon have not yet returned to the homes they fled. Some are living with relatives and friends, while others are staying in boarding houses. Agricultural work has not yet been resumed in the border region. Freight cars are not being dispatched from the Barkhudarly railway station to the neighboring republic. Meanwhile, work collectives in Akchapa and Gendzha continue to send foodstuffs, clothing, and other necessary items to the refugees in Kazakhskiy Rayon.

Supreme Soviet Debates Crisis

NC0409173090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Excerpts] The Armenian Supreme Soviet session opened this morning with a report by People's Deputy Kin Balayan, a member of the parliament's Legal Affairs Standing Commission. Balayan noted that there has been a marked reduction in tension in the republic over the last two days and said that the situation has gradually stabilized. He also reported on the findings of the investigation by the Armenian Republic's Procuracy into the 28-29 August incident which resulted in the deaths of People's Deputy Vitya Ayvazyan and Geghaznik Mikayelyan, a follower of the national movement. He noted that criminal proceedings have been opened and an inquiry is being held.

People's Deputies Vladimir Agadzhanyan and Arkadiy Manucharov also addressed the session and expressed anxiety and concern over the situation that has developed in the Armenian-inhabited regions of the neighboring republic, particularly in Getashen and Shaumyanovskiy. They demanded that the session take resolute steps to overcome the prevailing situation.

It was suggested that the second sitting be held behind closed doors without radio, television, or press coverage. This was endorsed by a majority and the second sitting continued behind closed doors.

There was direct radio and television coverage of the evening session which continued to debate the formation of the parliamentary standing commissions. [passage omitted]

Friends, now we present a recorded interview with two deputies by our commentator Khrayr Chamchyan:

[Begin recording] [Chamchyan] I am now speaking to Rafik (?Ghazimyan), a people's deputy from Alaverdskiy's No. 115 electoral district. Can you briefly fill us in on the course of today's session?

[(?Ghazimyan)] Today's session debated the anxiety felt about Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO] in view of the fact that the Azerbiajanis have now effectively surrounded Getashen and are committing all sorts of inhuman acts there. I do not want to go into detail [words indistinct] the same is being done in the Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and the village of Barukh in Askeranskiy Rayon. I have been there and Barukh finds itself amid [words indistinct] Turkish villages. Elections for local soviets in Azerbaijan are to take place on 30 and 31 September. Therefore, the general view is that there is competition between the Popular Front and the existing state organizations over which will deal the severest armed blow to our compatriots. Our compatriots will suffer beacuse of that competition and we, as a state, must definetely raise our voice in protest and help our compatriots. This should not be done through meetings or half-formulated declarations. [passage omitted]

I support the proposal of Seyran Bagdasaryan that an administration attached to the council of ministers directly monitor the situation in the NKAO and look into such things as which village has or needs flour, where defense arrangements have been organized in this or that manner, and which areas face possible danger. This administration should be an actively functioning organ of the Council of Ministers. Otherwise, the two-and-half-year-long game of documents will continue. [passage omitted]

[Chamchyan] I am now speaking with the republican People's Deputy Granush Akobyan. Can you briefly describe the course of today's session?

[Akobyan] Today's session took up an issue which greatly disturbs us. For the last few days we have been anxious about the situation in Getashen and Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. We heard a speech by People's Deputy Agadzhanyan in which he recounted the serious situation existing in Getashen and Shaumyanovskiy. The Azerbaijani side is resorting to all means to either subjugate or forcibly uproot the population of Getashen and Shaumyanovskiy. Naturally, a vigorous exchange of views took place on this issue. It was a correct decision to hold the second sitting behind closed doors. At that sitting, views were expressed and things were said which no one, particularly our neighbors, should hear. Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the parliament, summed up the debate and said certain concrete guidelines will be set. Although they will not produce an immediate strengthening of the ties between Artsakh and our republic, they will be strong tactical moves which could in the future open up more correct avenues toward the resolution of the reunification problem between Artsakh

and our republic. The most important issue is the protection of the security of the people and in this regard the attention of the progressive people in Moscow, in all capitals, and in the republics must be drawn to this issue to prevent a sudden threat to people's lives there. Two or three draft resolutions will be submitted to us in the future for adoption. Their basic objective is to stabilize the situation in Getashen and Shaumyanovskiy. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Weapons Surrender Rate Slow

PM0509150390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Untitled report by I. Andreyev under the "Direct Line" rubric]

[Text] Lieutenant General M. Kolesnikov, sector troops chief of staff, informs IZVESTIYA that no remotely serious incidents have taken place on the territory of Armenia or Azerbaijan over the past 48 hours. However, the situation cannot be called calm in the full sense of the word.

The sluggish rate of the surrender of weapons by Armenian armed formations, posing as it does no threat to the accumulated arsenals, is a cause for alarm. For example, among the submachine guns already surrendered, training models scarcely suitable for restoration even in factory conditions predominate, along with smoothbore and hunting rifles. Large quantities of really modern arms remain in the hands of the guerrillas and the dumps belonging to their formations.

Aliyev Running for Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet

PM0509090490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[INTERFAX report: "Geydar Aliyev Interview"]

[Text] The Baku newspaper RESPUBLIKA has published an interview with former CPSU Central Committee Politburo member Geydar Aliyev. He is in Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic at the moment, where he is running as a candidate deputy for the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. In the interview G. Aliyev said, in particular, that he condemns the introduction of Soviet troops into Baku in January and their "actions against civilians." He urged all Azerbaijanis to consolidate. Aliyev believes that the people must unite for the sake of achieving real sovereignty for the republic.

According to G. Aliyev, he personally had nothing to do with the various negative things that had occurred in the republic. He said that he had simply "believed people"—his immediate entourage and the apparatus—"who had deceived him."

Internal Affairs Personnel in Georgia Strike

PM0409094390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Besik Urigashvili under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Militia Strike"]

[Text] The personnel of the Zugdidi City Internal Affairs Department—all 352 of them—have declared a strike.

Strike committee representatives said that administrative organs' chaotic activities, uncertainty about militia officers' rights and duties, and the lack of social protection were the main reasons why law-enforcement organs' personnel took this step. All this is causing perplexity among militia personnel and uncertainty during operational work.

It was noted that some criminal elements are operating on behalf of the Georgian national liberation movement, they are unceremoniously interfering in militia work, and are pressuring internal affairs organs. There are no forces in the republic at the moment capable of calling them to account.

Republic Internal Affairs Minister Sh. Gorgodze met with the strikers. Agreement was reached on many questions. But some of the demands come under the jurisdiction of the republic's supreme legislative organ—namely, that the Georgian Internal Affairs Ministry no longer be subject to the Union ministry, that internal affairs organs be depoliticized, and that a Georgian national militia be set up. Internal Affairs Department personnel in another seven rayons of western Georgia and also in Poti City supported the action and have declared a strike.

The strikers said that unless their demands are met by 5 September, internal affairs organs in all these rayons will disband and cease operations.

Strike Ends; Inquiry Opened

PM0409142390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by MOLODEZH GRUZII correspondent T. Pachkoriya: "Strike Over"]

[Text] Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—On 29 August PRAVDA reported a strike of staffers at the Zugdidi City and Rayon Internal Affairs Department and the demands made by the striking militiamen.

Shota Gorgodze, Georgian SSR minister of internal affairs, Vakhtang Razmadze, republic prosecutor, and Georgian Justice Minister Viktor Sharashenidze have arrived in Zugdidi to study the situation and examine the militiamen's demands.

In conversation with representatives of the strike committee and militia staffers these leadership officials stated that a number of the militia workers' demands will be met.

Central Asia

Emergency Measures Adopted on Quake Damage

PM0509153890 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent V. Mirolevich: "Emergency Measures Syndrome"]

[Text] Ust-Kamenogorsk—An extraordinary session of the East Kazakhstan Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has discussed the progress of restoration work in rayons damaged by earthquakes and has decided to institute state of emergency procedures throughout the oblast.

The session gave the oblast soviet presidium the right to suspend the work of enterprises, institutions, and organizations either partially or completely in order to draw extra manpower into the disaster zones; and to relieve all leaders and other senior personnel of their duties if they fail to ensure that targets are met.

Some deputies voiced the opinion that the introduction of emergency measures is just another trick by the apparatus designed to strengthen the administrative-edict system and unlimited power. It cannot be denied that this is a harsh opinion. But one thing is beyond question: What the emergency measures are covering up is not so much the effects of natural disasters (which in our country also include bumper harvests), as the blunders made by the present system. Implementation of the Kazakh government resolution "On Measures To Assist Earthquake Victims" has not got off the ground and the country's enterprises are in no hurry to implement the USSR Council of Ministers instructions on allocating 210,000 square meters of prefabricated panelboard housing.

The session's announcement of an oblast-wide mobilization of resources and threats to suspend enterprises' work make an impressive display of localized measures, on the one hand, but appear, on the other, to be an attempt to shift the full weight of political and economic responsibility for the unsoundness of the edict system mechanism onto the shoulders of the oblast's labor collectives. If the situation reaches the point where these sanctions are taken, the economic upheavals for the oblast's population will be devastating.

Now a few words about the legal aspects of the East Kazakhstan emergency measures. Deputies have given the oblast soviet presidium the right to limit the economic and financial independence of labor collectives—in other words, their electorate. This is in breach of the USSR law adopted this spring "On Legal State of Emergency Procedures." The arbitrary announcement of these procedures by oblast legislators means that a large part of the country is now in a state of emergency. In other words, outside the law—with the tacit consent of republic parliaments and the Union parliament.

Interethnic Disturbances Continue in Osh Oblast

90US1282A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Razgulyayev: "Is Everything Okay?"]

[Text] Osh Oblast, Kirghiz SSR—[the following paragraph is published in italics in a box in the middle of the item] Leading Up to the Event—Three months had not yet passed since the report and election conference when a motion of confidence in the entire staff of the Osh Obkom [Oblast Party Committee] Bureau was raised at a special plenum of the committee. And this question has not only arisen in party circles; the proposal to replace and dismiss several secretaries of the local party committees has been stated loudly at mass meetings and has been expressed by both communists and nonparty people. [end box]

The leaders of the Osh Oblast party organization had to undergo an unexpectedly severe test literally on the day after the conference. Because it was on that Sunday morning of 27 May that the mass meetings began—both spontaneous and provoked—and a week later they culminated in bloody clashes and pogroms with numerous human victims.

Communists showed their mettle in different ways during these tragic days. Some went bravely into the agitated crowd and tried to stop it and restrain the outburst of gangsterism. For this they received insults and injuries and were taken hostage. Others sat it out behind the walls of their offices waiting for armored personnel carriers to arrive with soldiers and free them. In Uzgen the confusion and lack of will of the leadership contributed substantially to the fact that an unbridled crowd managed to kill more than 150 people. People are used to seeing real power in communists and the leaders of the party committee. Communists are supposed to demonstrate will and firmness. And when the first shock from the unprecedented cruelty had passed, people began to ask more and more insistently: How did this happen? Where were those whom we trusted for so many years? Where was their high sense of responsibility, about which we have heard so much?

True, several leaders retired immediately after the June events, acknowledging in this fashion, albeit indirectly, their guilt. Some, like K. Uzakov, first secretary of the Kara-Suyskiy Raykom [Rayon Party Committee], and Zh. Asanov, first secretary of the Uzgenskiy Raykom, did it at the insistence of communists. Others, such as Zh. Bekbolotov, former chairman of the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee], did it out of fear of more serious legal consequences. S. Bakhapova, the obkom's secretary for ideological questions, also wrote a statement about the impossibility of remaining at her post. However a special republic commission examining the causes of the tragedy decided justly that the circle of those responsible for the conflagration that had been ignited was much wider and the mistakes and errors were

far more serious than it appeared. Speaking at the plenum, A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of the Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, noted that during those difficult days U. Sydykov, first secretary of the party obkom, demonstrated political immaturity and committed fateful mistakes leading to the bloodshed. And can one really underestimate the share of the blame of N. Davydov, second secretary of the obkom, who was in charge of personnel affairs for many years and "stacked" the law enforcement organs? Obvious defects in this work to the benefit of one nationality helped the extremists gather an agitated crowd around themselves.

And ideological work? Education of the young? The events of June revealed so many blunders and gaps that it was quite understandable when the residents of Osh, and all Kirghiz as well, demanded the investigation into the reasons for the tragedy be completed as quickly as possible in order to ensure that the guilty not escape responsibility "as they pleased."

Sternly and impartially, the communists called to account those leaders who had flirted with "informals" and who, by their concessions to regionalism and the pursuit of narrow local interests, had virtually prepared the explosion. They made everyone accountable who sought out power and the people's deputies posts at any price and who retreated from internationalism, even if only by a half-step, thereby arriving at a manifestation of nationalism. Later, however, the pace at the plenum was lost. K. Uzakov, the former "leader" of Kara-Suyskiy Rayon, struck the first false note. When the proposal was made to dismiss from the party obkom all those who were guilty of permitting the conflict, he said indignantly, "But the investigation still is not over?!"

At the very least, the statement was strange. It was a question of a political evaluation of the activities of the party committees and the communist leaders. But it turned out that this "cry of an offended soul" was hardly accidental. Many first secretaries made references in their speeches to objective causes and "the center's inattention." They mentioned the shortage of housing and goods, the fact that there are few institutions, etc.

"But was it any easier for our generation to live?" retorted one of the veterans. "We did not even have enough axes...."

K. Khuriyev, administrative head of Naryn Hydraulic Power Construction, and other participants at the plenum tried to analyze the problems which are troubling all the residents of the republic today: Isolation of the ethnic groups, emigration of the Russian-speaking population, and a decline in morals among the youth. However, references to objective causes also abounded.

"Any one of us could be in the same situation as those who have been dismissed," stated A. Ishimov, first secretary of the Suzakskiy Raykom.

They probably could. Frankly speaking, the situation is also far from ideal even in other rayons which were not part of the zone of bloody conflagration. And for the time being, the reconciliation in Osh and Uzgen is taking place with great difficulty. Any mistake committed now will have more severe consequences than in June. As a result, it is all the more important to analyze the situation very honestly and candidly and to identify the mistakes and the guilty parties. People are expecting this from the plenum, and they look to it for a fundamental turning point in the situation. And to a great degree they are seeking a renewal of both the personnel and the policy of the obkom bureau, which did not show itself to best effect during the recent events.

At first the confidence motion was raised heatedly. When the results of the secret vote were announced, it turned out that all the members of the bureau registered on the ballot had received a vote of confidence. Even S. Bakhapova, who had written her resignation herself. Does this mean that everything is okay again? There is complete peace and harmony?

I would like to believe that very much. But I find myself stopped by those same tragic scenes of the events which took place the day after the report and election conference, where everyone also praised and supported one another. I am hindered by the heavy burden of mistakes and lapses hanging over the head of the oblast's current leadership. Will they be able to escape it and surmount the complex, explosive situation?

Uzbek President Issues Call-Up Decree

LD0509141790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] A decree by Karimov, president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], has been published today. Under this decree the call-up of young men of the republic for service in military construction units deployed outside the Uzbek SSR is to be halted from this fall. It is deemed advisable to call up young people into the USSR Armed forces in the future on the basis of treaties between the government of the republic and the relevant all-Union bodies.

The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to conclude such treaties prior to the beginning of the spring call-up. They are to regulate the number of conscripts and the conditions of their military service, and to establish guarantees of their safety and social security.

The Uzbek SSR president's decree prohibits conscription to actual military service of young men whose brothers have died while performing their military service duties in peacetime. Supplementary benefits are being established at the expense of the republic's resources for servicemen on emergency service who have been made invalids as a consequence of injuries, and also for the families of servicemen who have died while carrying out their service.

The decree makes provision for a number of measures to improve the work of the republic's military commissariats, and to intensify sponsorship links with military units where young men from Uzbekistan are carrying out their service.